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CULTURE OF A CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITY

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by Kenneth MacLeish and Kimball Young

RURAL LIFE STUDIES: 3
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U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FOREWORD

This is a report on one of six communities which were studied contemporaneously by six different participant observers or field workers during the year 1940. Each study was sufficiently independent of the other five to make desirable separate treatment and publication but the reader will gain full understanding of the findings only when he has read the reports of the six studies as a group.

The six communities selected for study - El Cerrito, New Mex.; Sublette, Kans.; Irwin, Iowa; The Old Order Amish of Lancaster County, Penn.; Landaff, N. H.; and Harmony, Ga. - were not selected in an attempt to obtain a geographic sampling of contemporary rural communities in the United States, but as samples of, or points on, a continuum from high community stability to great instability. At one end of the continuum, an Amish community, Lancaster, Penn., was selected. At the other end, a "Dust Bowl" community in Kansas was selected. The other four communities range themselves between these extremes.

Landaff, in New Hampshire, was selected because it is an old community which presumably had experienced a long period of stability which had been considerably disturbed, in recent years, by the penetration of the Boston milkshed into that area. The reader will note that the study throws some doubt on the assumption of a high degree of stability in the community in the past and will find that change has not been so great, recently as had been assumed.

Kenneth MacLeish lived in the community for 4 months and has returned there for short visits several times since. He therefore knows the community quite well. Kimball Young visited the community and interviewed a great many people during a short period. His major contribution is in terms of interpretation of Landaff community in comparison with other communities and with societal and cultural phenomena in general.

Carl C. Taylor

CONTENTS

	Page
Identification and Characterization of the Community	1
Identification of the Community – Time, Place, and People	1
Community Structure and Function	6
Major Problems of Adjustment and Maladjustment Now Facing the Community	9
History and Background of the Community	10
Growth and Development of the Community from the Original Settlement to the Present	10
The Original Land Base and Its Potentialities	12
Later Population Changes: Replacements, Migrations, and Present Composition and Trends	16
The Cultural Background of the Present Population	19
Making a Living	28
Land Use	28
Commercialization and Self-Sufficiency	43
Government Programs to Aid Agriculture	52
The Community: Organization and Values	55
Spatial Patterns	55
Patterns of Informal Association	59
Patterns of Formal Association	65
Leadership and Class Structure	80
Youth as the Critical Age-Group in the Community	87
Value System and Its Supporting Sanctions and Attitudes	91
Integration and Conflicts	94
Impact of the Outside World Upon Landaff	99
Agricultural Aspects of Change	99
Nonagricultural Aspects	106
Integration and Disintegration in Community and Individual Life	113

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. No.		Page
1	*Location of Landaff, Sutton, and Temple, Towns in New Hampshire*	2
2	*Population Trends in Landaff and Two Other New Hampshire Towns, 1790-1940*	17
3	*Land Utilization, Landaff, N. H.*	24
4	*Distribution of Land Among Resident Families, Landaff, N. H.* .	30
5	*Residences and Residence Changes in the Last 5 and in the Last 10 Years, Landaff, N. H.*	56
6	*Typical large farm in Landaff*	58
7	*Temporary dwelling of part-time farmer*	58
8	*Subdivisions of the Landaff Community*	68
9	*The Blue School*	70
10	*Farm people at church in Landaff*	74

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CULTURE OF A CONTEMPORARY RURAL COMMUNITY

LANDAFF, NEW HAMPSHIRE

by

KENNETH MACLEISH
and
KIMBALL YOUNG

IDENTIFICATION AND CHARACTERIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY

IDENTIFICATION OF THE COMMUNITY - TIME, PLACE, AND PEOPLE

First attempts to settle in the area in which Landaff is located were made as early as 1754 when Captain Peter Powers and a group of followers went into the wild Cohos country. They went up the Merrimack and the Pemigewasset, up the Connecticut and the Ammonoosuk, 150 miles and more from the comfortable, mature towns of northern Massachusetts and southern New Hampshire. They were looking for new land to settle. They found high hills and narrow valleys, clear streams, forests of pine and spruce, and a few rich meadows near the rivers. Later, in Concord, they spoke of the great fertility of the land and of the fine village sites they found, and the fast streams that would run mills. But the French and Indian War interrupted these incipient migrations and the Cohos country was left unoccupied until the English took Canada in 1760.

After 1760 a gradual settlement was begun. Land here was plentiful, and certain economic and population pressures at home evidently induced families from more settled areas - and some fresh from Britain - to try their fortunes in this more remote and somewhat less inviting frontier.

The township of Landaff, in New Hampshire, was chartered in 1764, but within a few years the charter was forfeited and the land was given to Dartmouth College. After the Revolutionary War the dispossessed grantees petitioned for a re-grant, which was obtained in 1774. From this date until 1830 the population grew rapidly, but from 1830 until 1860, when population reached its peak, it increased, though at a slower rate. From that time to this it has decreased steadily, and apparently the decline will continue for several years to come.

Landaff lies in an area of high hills. At the time of its first occupancy the land was heavily forested. The early settlers found none of the rich natural meadow land so prized by those who settled in the Connecticut Valley itself. Moreover, a good deal of the woodland was not considered to be worth clearing.

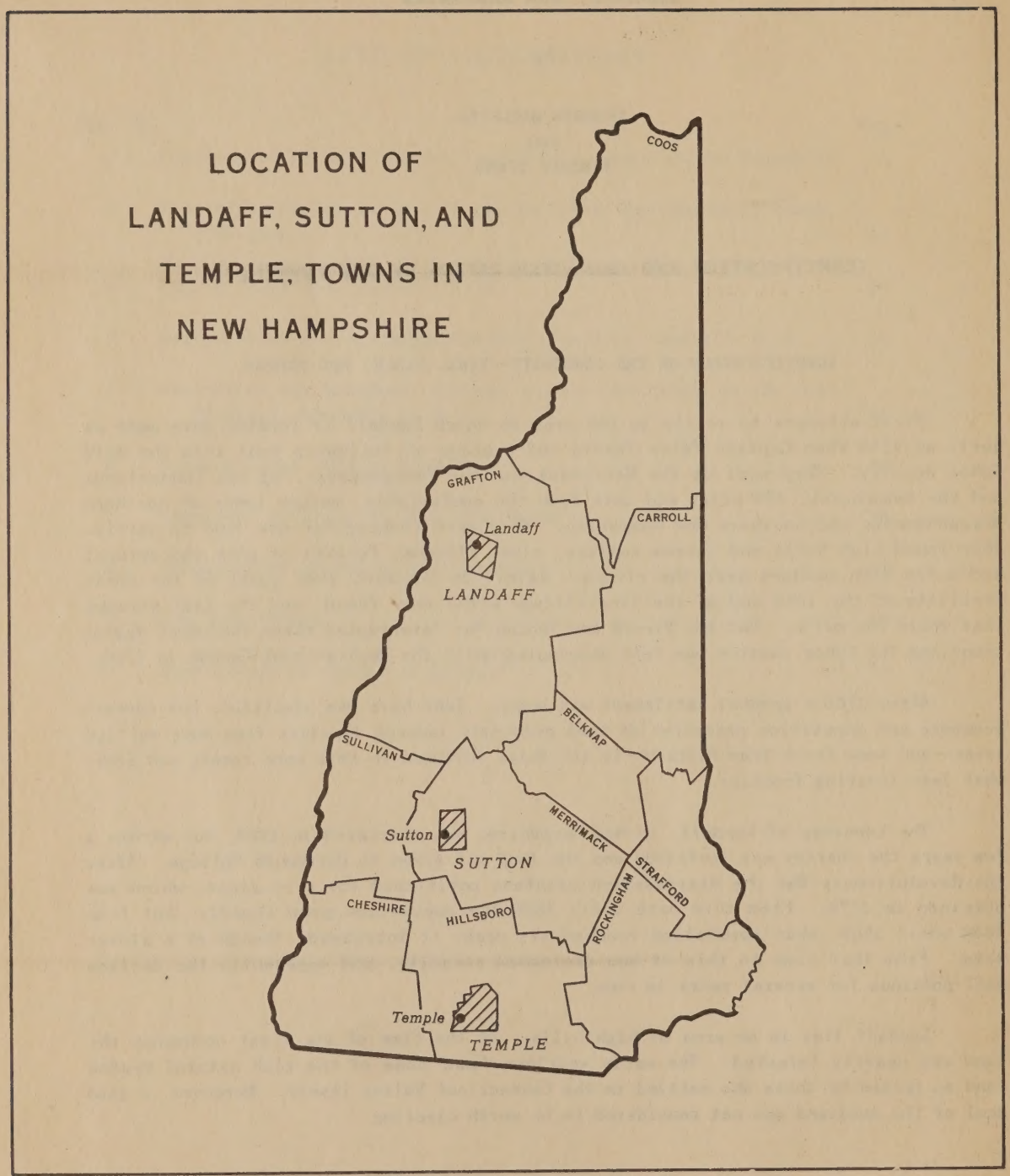

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FIGURE 1

As elsewhere in the hills, people occupied the high land where the soil was rich and dry. The first homes were often isolated from one another by stretches of hill and valley. In the swales there were willow scrub and pine, and the land was wet. On the hills were spruce and hardwood; the fields were cut out of the hardwood forests for these stumps would rot fast in the well-drained soil. The evergreens, called "the black timber," made a fine reserve of fuel and building materials. There was plenty of water, even on the high slopes - brooks that ran all year and springs that did not dry. Across the middle of the township a stream flowed west to the Connecticut River, it proved later to be large enough to turn mills.

When the later settlers arrived, they found that most of the good land had already been taken. Although much of the soil was very shallow, some of it was deep enough to yield good crops, and yet an enterprising man did not need the best land in order to grow his own living. If 2 acres would not suffice, 4 acres would, and there was always more land to be bought from the proprietors for a very small price. Early settlers in the North sold no cash crop except pearlash and potash, and they neither saw nor needed much money.

Landaff today looks much as it did long ago. Homes are scattered along the roads in two or three connecting valleys, but the southern part of the township has been wholly abandoned. Houses are more closely spaced along the hard-surfaced roads because there the nonfarm families live - families who own little or no land and build their houses close to their neighbors. There are more fields, but some are deserted and are going back to brush. The present stands contain little merchantable timber, but the forests are coming back despite the years of lumbering and the hurricane of 1938.

For the most part the land is no better and no worse than it ever was; but people think of it more often as "bad land" because, excellent though it was for subsistence farming, it cannot and apparently never will yield a good cash income except from milk and lumber. Every large farm sells milk, and uses its good land for forage crops and its poor land for pasturage. The climate, like the land, has not changed, but it is not well suited to modern commercialized farming, for the season is too short.

Landaff is not a village in the usual sense of the word. Rather it is a community of scattered dwellings, a township without a well-developed trade center. There is a church and a town building, but nothing more - and houses are not grouped around them. Nearby, not 4 miles from these two "central" buildings, is the village of Lisbon, a real trade center with stores, a bank, garages, shops, factories, and a good many professional men and artisans. Landaff people do business in Lisbon, but it is a different community in their minds. Landaff may depend upon it, in part; but Landaff does not "belong" to it in a psychological sense.

We might picture a typical New England community as one more like Woodsville, Littleton, or Lisbon, with a grouping of homes about an economic center containing stores, offices, a bank, garages, and perhaps a small factory or two; nevertheless, Landaff is highly representative of many hill towns which have remained primarily agricultural and is fairly typical of the strictly rural life of that area so it served the purpose of the present research project very well.

The area in which Landaff lies, considered generally and in reference to the rest of the country, is poor both in monetary wealth and in natural resources now that

lumbering has greatly declined. It provides to industrial New England, milk, cattle, some lumber, and beautiful scenery, but it is of economic significance only to the city of Boston. It is an area of variation in everything from its topography to its people who, though fairly conservative, maintain a relatively high level of living and a "material culture" which is apparently more advanced than that of most other areas. The inhabitants traditionally take care of most of their own problems, and would like to take care of all. Though the young people migrate to other parts of the United States year after year, the boundaries of the area are still clear in the minds of those who remain. They do not boast about their particular locality, nor do they maintain that it is superior to others in the country. But they have a feeling of belonging and a consciousness of difference from those who do not belong. This is as marked as any local sense of solidarity in even the richest agricultural counties in the United States.

The present population of Landaff is no longer so homogeneous as it once was. There are now a few who were not New Englanders and a considerable number of nonfarm people of relatively recent arrival. To understand the changes which have taken place, we must briefly consider the early settlement and the later history of this locality.

The pioneers who moved into this area in the 1770's were chiefly Yankees from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and the southern counties of New Hampshire. There were a few Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Welshmen, but almost certainly no Irish Catholics. Most of these early settlers were farmers, people of small material wealth, for there was no incentive for the well-to-do to migrate into the northern hills.

Although farmers first settled the land and cut the fields out of the dense woods, they were not the original grantees of the new townships. Most of these were down-country businessmen and speculators who were in a position to reach the ear of the Governor, and who got title to the land only to sell it at a profit to those who wished to live on it. Few of these men ever saw the property they owned. Those who did take up residence on their grants acted as committees to see to the surveying of the township, its division into lots, the sale of such lots, and, together with the selectmen and moderator later elected by the settlers, to function as the local government. When the land was sold, most of them returned to their former homes.

There was a continual in-migration from about 1775 until 1860, but the major features of permanent settlement were established by 1800. By that time log cabins had given way in large part to frame buildings and enough land had been cleared to support the population. Each family had its own "pitch," as the farms were called. Most of them were about 100 acres.

The colonial charters of all the hill towns were more or less alike. The King (George III) made few demands upon the residents. House lots were supposed to be laid out in the center of the townships, but usually the topography and agricultural technique made this impossible or inconvenient. Each man was to clear 5 out of every 50 acres of his share, and had to pay 1 shilling proclamation money per 100 acres per year. He was forbidden to cut any "white or other pine trees" which might be used as masts and spars in the King's Navy. Outside of these few regulations, the pioneer was unhampered by laws. Provisions were made for the establishment of a town government and for local fairs such as were held in England, though these fairs were never accepted by the hill people.

Life in those times was simple and hard. Almost complete self-sufficiency was the rule, but there was occasional export of potash, hides, tallow, and native flannel, more or less counterbalanced by the importation of iron, salt, molasses, and rum. This trade kept up a thread of contact with the outside world. But on the whole, each family produced what it needed and made nearly everything it used, operating much as an independent unit and taking advantage of group cooperation only when it was necessary. Each farmer raised a variety of crops and livestock.

In these early decades it was rare for a man to specialize in farming. No farmer could afford to raise only a single crop, for there was no market within many miles, and because there was no specialization, there was little or no technical progress in farm methods. There was little demand for artisans in this subsistence economy, and only two or three could make a living by following their trades in any one community.

These conditions made for individualism, a sense of independence, personal security, and definite social isolation. The settlers built churches and town buildings, and found solace in the sermons and considerable fellowship in their church and town meetings, but for the most part their basic patterns of life were those of the free man who worked hard and who felt he owed little to his neighbors.

The greatest change in the character of Landaff (and the other hill towns) came about as a result of the Industrial Revolution, especially in the perfection of textile machinery. Towns of southern New Hampshire and northern Massachusetts set up large factories and created, for the first time, a constant market for wool. Although they had always raised a few sheep for their own use, all over this North Country farmers began to build up their flocks and to sell wool for cash. Some farms grew enormously, some only slightly. Some men became rich and hired those who were poor. Class differences between people began to arise as a money economy emerged.

Later we shall deal in more detail with the history of Landaff and its changing economic situation. At this point only the major changes need be sketched. The new sheep industry not only brought considerable wealth to the North, but also stimulated in-migration. It forced commercialization on the hill farmers who moved from self-sufficiency to the economic practices of the market place. There was an evident rise in the level of living. Yet with the opening of the great West and the development of railway transportation, sheep raising in northern New England collapsed. This area could not compete with the prairies. During the Civil War prices rose again, but the promising conditions did not persist and after that war most of the operators gave up hope. They still raised sheep, but in small numbers, and they did not depend upon them for a living.

Between 1860 and 1900 a good deal of variation in agricultural techniques developed; but the basic commercial incentive that had been established by the sheep boom was not abandoned. Men still wanted money, and the young people who thought it could not be had at home left, going west to the new free land or southward to find work in the cities. Those who remained raised horses or beef cattle, sold lumber or butter, or set up mills along the streams. They still produced a great deal for their own use, but their standard of living could no longer be satisfied by a subsistence economy.

The lumber industry reached its peak about 1900 and dairying became an important source of income. In spite of these facts young people were leaving every year. The population had dropped considerably from its high point in 1860. The community was kept from declining at an even faster rate by the influx of "floaters"—rather young people—some of them Yankees, some of them of foreign birth, and a good many of them of nonfarm parents. These people came seeking work as laborers in the woods or on the farms. They lived in small houses with little or no land and they usually moved away as soon as better opportunities were evident elsewhere. Previously there had been richer and poorer men, successful and unsuccessful men, even employers and employees, but they all "belonged." Now there was a new "class," outsiders who felt no essential loyalty to the community.

Since this period, which lasted from about 1890 to 1915, the lumber industry has fallen off sharply. There is still a market, and men still cut from their own woodlots, but the sale of milk to the Boston market provides most farmers with their cash incomes. Since 1910 the rate of out-migration of young men and women has apparently increased slightly, and the number of "floaters" has apparently decreased. Community organizations are less numerous than before, and with the exception of the Granges, they have small memberships. The land base has deteriorated only slightly, though a good deal of tillage has been abandoned. Yet the town has become increasingly submarginal, not only in an economic sense but in its noneconomic aspects as well. The people have changed a great deal; the land, but little.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

Perhaps the most striking feature of community structure is a certain lack of particularized and well-defined norms. In a sense this fact constitutes the characteristic pattern of society in Landaff. There is individual variation in everything from farm practices to attitudes about community organization. There are, however, a few general patterns in Landaff which tend to give a certain character to the community. The exact delimitations are difficult to establish but an intensity and an interrelation can be discerned.

We may designate these general patterns as values, meanings, or frames of reference. They serve to define the role and status of individuals, to provide characteristic features of the sound personality, and to serve as a basis for judging another's worth and stability. The most important of these are sense of independence, strong individualism, hard work, thrift, and a general pride in personal accomplishment.

Every individual in Landaff values independence highly; he strives for it; he achieves it to a greater or less degree and maintains it even to his own economic disadvantage. Also, everyone prizes individualism. Each wishes to be free to do whatever he wants, in whatever way he pleases, and refuses to hold to one particular method or practice merely because it is widely accepted by others. Hard work and thrift are highly valued, and among the established families—though not always among the so-called "floaters"—these virtues are among the chief standards for judging another's merit.

Finally, pride in the achievement of independence, in freedom to be individualistic, and in the ability to survive on the farm through hard work and thrift, is

characteristic of those who belong to the community. This pride is only slightly related to wealth. A man feels proud if he can say, "I don't owe any man, and I don't expect any favors. This is my place and I made it what it is. I can take care of myself and my family, and no one has the right to tell me how to run my business."

None of the other general characteristics is so important as those already mentioned and none is so universal. Each exists for a reason or set of reasons, and each has its effect upon the existence and quality of the others.

The chief reasons that the people place such high value on independence are quickly outlined. The settler had to be independent (up to a certain point) in order to keep himself and his family alive. As freedom from domination was one of the main incentives for going into the North, it is probable that only men who valued independence highly settled in these townships.[1] Then, the new communities could not tolerate any individual or family who could not be independent, and there was neither time nor means for taking care of those who could not take care of themselves. It is known that the poor were rather badly treated in the early days - they were "auctioned off" to the lowest bidder.

Thus while the pattern of independence was already established to some extent, conditions in the new settlements made independence essential, so it came to be a distinct measure of "goodness" or adaptation. Cooperation was limited to certain kinds of work. As a matter of fact, extensive mutual aid would never have been very possible because of the distance between homes. From the earliest years, personal independence has been basic to the functioning of the local culture because, once it was thoroughly established, nothing occurred to destroy it. Improved farm machinery made the farmers even more independent. Some men know that cooperation would bring them more money, but there are few who would give up their privilege of independence for the sake of a slightly increased income.

Individualism was a natural corollary of independence. When men work alone on their own problems and solve them in their own way, individual differences are likely to develop. Such individualism might be called the expression of personal freedom and independence.

Hard work and thrift are considered "basic virtues" because they have always been essential to the life of this community. Work, the means to the firmly-established end of independence, became in itself a "good." The man who did not work hard indulged himself at the expense of the rest who would in time be forced to give him something of what their own labors had produced. There was no room here for a parasite. Today, hard work is still a virtue because it continues to be necessary as well as a mark of social quality. The man who is seen too often driving his car when the weather is right for work in the fields is sure to be criticized; the responsible men must pay so that the shiftless may live. Thrift, too, has always been a part of New England culture; men who have made everything they use know the value in labor and time of each article and treat it with care and respect.

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[1] Of course, no one knows how much weight to give to possible biological or constitutional factors in such social-cultural situations. But in considering migration, colonization, and social change, the likelihood of bio-social selection of family strains which make for initiative and aggression should not be lightly dismissed.

These characteristics – the result of an older New England heritage, a hard, varying environment, a long period in which specialization was impossible, and the continued absence of prosperity or complete commercialization – may be found singly or together in many another society. Nevertheless the Landaff community is not without a well-marked character of its own. Here, as in other townships in northern New England, these traits are strongly developed and their strength, their interrelatedness, and their very "sacredness" give to the North Country a character as definite and as clear as can be found in any other area. That the tradition permits variation within itself does not make this statement any less true, for variation is the expression of one of the main values, individualism. The northern New Englander, therefore, conforms to the general cultural standard without having to do exactly as his neighbors do.

A strong sense of community solidarity is not typical of the present-day hill towns, nor has it been true of New England townships in general for many years. The considerable versatility and adaptability which are part of the New England cultural heritage conspired against extreme community solidarity. Their virtues prepared the rising generation to go elsewhere, if necessity demanded, in order to get on in the world. The result has always been that many have readily left their home communities – particularly those who had little money or property – to seek success in other localities. This is especially evident today, when there is a greater disparity between the level of aspiration and the level of living.

Certain factors serve to establish a kind of solidarity, and they must be briefly noted. The social organizations help although only the Grange is valued by a large group of people. At Grange meetings families see and talk to each other, discuss somewhat the events of the world, re-affirm their mutual interest in this order by carrying out the traditional rituals of the organization, and indulge in group recreation. The function of the Grange is now far more social than educational or political, and as such it is even more important in the lives of the people than it might be otherwise.

The organized church is less important, as far as the matter of cohesion within the community is concerned, for apparently it interests deeply only a limited number of people, almost all of whom are women. This does not mean, necessarily, that the people of Landaff are unconcerned with religious questions, but it does indicate that the church as a formal organization adds little to cohesion in community life.

The schools have a large part in making the smaller children conscious of their relationship to Landaff. Attendance at school throws them into constant association with each other and almost all of a child's friends will be children of this community; he rarely sees any others. The three schools bring the adults together, for they are controlled by a group elected at the town meetings. The problems of the schools, as far as they involve teachers and funds, are the problems of the whole community.

Other organizations draw people together and strengthen their feeling for each other, such as the 4-H Club, the Ladies' Aid Society, and the Home Demonstration Club, but the extent of their influence is limited. The town meeting is of considerable importance, serving as a reminder to the people that they must come together to conduct the business of their community which is wholly controlled by them. This serves to keep clear the distinction between the community itself and the neighboring village where shopping is always done; for the Landaff man in Lisbon is visiting another town

where his voice counts for nothing, where other people make the laws and elect officers who may be unlike those in Landaff. At home, he is in a township over which he has as much control as any other man.

An aspect other than the institutional serves even more to maintain the loosely-knit but still definite solidarity of this community – it is the feeling of belonging to a place, to a piece of land, and of having descended from people who lived on that land long ago. Obviously, this does not apply to the floaters, who naturally have no strong feeling of allegiance to it. Certain descendants of the oldest families will not sell their farms even when they can no longer operate them profitably, or when they cost far more than they produce, whereas the floaters leave their semi-temporary homes without regret.

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF ADJUSTMENT AND MALADJUSTMENT NOW FACING THE COMMUNITY

Landaff has adjusted to the outside world nearly as far as possible, but economically this is not enough. Forces from without have varied greatly during the past century, but none has been so important as the first great change in the local way of living brought about 110 years ago by the first impact of commercialization. Almost every later influence from the outside operates within the framework of the changes wrought by this initial contact with the market. There was a time when the young people went west, another time when they went to the cities. At times they were leaving in great numbers, at others many of them remained in the community. But the important thing is that ever since commercialization and a money economy were adopted in the North, young people have been going out to other parts of the country because the local resources were not enough to support them at the level to which they aspired.

Transportation and communication have accelerated this process. Recreation, such as movies and radio programs, have served to make the country boys and girls more interested in the life of other places, and to make this remote area, economically submarginal, a part of the broader culture intellectually.

Parents believe that the single economic maladjustment – difficulty of adjusting to a cash economy – is mainly responsible for the depopulation of the town. They believe that the young people, at least those belonging to the old families, love their native locality and would like to remain a part of it if it were possible for them to make an adequate living there. Social organizations might flourish if there were more young people in the community. If economic conditions were sound enough to keep them at home, they would also take pride in their town. As it is, they believe that it cannot compete with other areas and so has no future. The emigration of youth is a sound and reasonable adjustment to this unalterable situation.

HISTORY AND BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNITY

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNITY FROM ORIGINAL SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT

It is difficult to ascertain which particular factors actually brought about the settlement of any given township in the North Country, but the most influential of the probable causes for settlement can be indicated. It must be remembered that new land was being opened up in the area throughout the period from 1760 to 1850; but with reference to this particular section, the most important period of settlement occurred before 1790.

In the first place, land in the old New England States was getting crowded, expensive, and even worn out. Jared Eliot,[2] writing before 1760, mentions these facts; 30 years later Jeremy Belknap, the famous historian of New Hampshire, wrote that "It is now accounted more profitable for a young man to go upon new, than to remain upon old lands."[3]

Then, the organized church was felt to be a menace to a large number of the poorer people. In early Ipswich[4] during the 1660's, franchise was restricted to freemen, and only 125 out of 508 held that title; freemen were necessarily members of the proper church. In later years the situation may have been less obviously undemocratic, but James R. Jackson says, in his *History of Littleton, New Hampshire*, that "the founders of Exeter and Hampton had fled Massachusetts to escape its church exactions."[5]

Third, the socio-economic conditions which prevailed in the original States after the Revolutionary War were unquestionably bad.[6] The landowners were inclined to exploit others. The Congregational Church became the State church by the Bill of Rights. Both State and local debts were heavy, with the result that taxes were increased and unfairly distributed. The paper currency had much to do with the economic instability, a situation which the new and weak Federal Government was unable to correct. The ruling class in Massachusetts was "impervious to ideas," avowedly undemocratic, and more concerned with property than with persons – so much so that the terms "good" and "rich" became almost synonymous.

While widespread misery prevailed in southern New England, the northern grants, so James Truslow Adams wrote, " . . . contained the most typical frontier elements to

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[2]Eliot, Jared. *Essays upon Field Husbandry in New England*, Boston, 1760.

[3]Belknap, Jeremy. *History of New Hampshire*, 3 vols., Boston, 1792. Vol. 3, p. 101.

[4]Waters, T. F. *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, Pub. by Ipswich Historical Society, 1905.

[5]Jackson, James R. *History of Littleton, New Hampshire*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1905. Vol. 1, p. 232.

[6]Adams, James Truslow. *New England in the Republic*, Boston, 1926.

be found in all New England, with the independent and democratic principles which we find in such societies."[7] We are also told that "The infertile tracts yet unoccupied in New Hampshire [in 1780] were slowly taken up by those who had been forced out by debt and discouragement."[8]

Obviously enough, most of the men who settled in the North were not of the so-called upper classes. No man could settle there unless he was an able farmer with a sound knowledge of hunting, fishing, woodcraft, lumbering, carpentry, building, and road construction. There was no reason for a skillful farmer who was young and strong to remain in Massachusetts or Connecticut in the face of opportunities elsewhere.

Of course, the great number of settlers who came after the Revolution were not the first settlers of the North Country. They found small settlements already established. But each of them faced the same kind of task that the first men had faced. The newcomers carried on the civilizing process already begun. They were pioneers like the first settlers, except that, whereas the former sometimes came several at a time from the same down-country towns, the later settlers were usually single families or unattached individuals. Often there was considerable trial-and-error moving about, until they finally decided on a satisfactory locality.

Most of these pioneers came from various towns in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, but almost every North-Country town had a few individuals of foreign birth, nearly all of them Scotch, Welsh, or English. Most of the Catholic Irish of New England were to arrive much later.

Although 1765 may be considered as the date when genuine settlement was first attempted, the country had already been traversed by scouts, soldiers, and others during the long French and Indian warfare. Once armed conflict was over, more extensive migration began only to be interrupted by the Revolutionary War. When the war ended, the peopling of this area continued until it was learned that the West had more to offer. The early farms - usually about 100 acres each - were chosen by lot from the original grants, or were bought from people who were ready to sell these units.

Most of the early settlements were similar in character, for their environment, varying though it was, did force men to conform to certain practices and methods. As each town grew, it developed its own individual qualities, so now it is safe to say that no two communities in the hill country are quite alike; but at first nearly all homes were of logs and nearly every field was small, uneven, and dotted with stumps.

At the outset there were no villages. These apparently did not develop until some specialization such as trading and artisanship became essential. Town lots were sometimes laid out, but only because the original charters specified that this be done. Later, they were generally bought up and fused with larger holdings. Landaff itself is not a village trade center even today, nor are the nearby townships of Lyman, Easton, and Benton. Each has a center, consisting of a town building, a church and perhaps a store, though Landaff has no store.

In the beginning, then, each town was merely a group of scattered homes and fields with a town building at the heart of it. This building was sometimes the

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[7]Ibid., p. 94.

[8]Ibid., p. 135.

dwelling of a particular citizen, though usually a separate structure was built. The proprietors met in the town hall to discuss problems regarding the sale of land and the establishment of taxes. Later, when all the land was sold, the moderator and selectmen would meet there[9] and the building or room might be used for church meetings.

The people had little time for anything but work and men cleared the land, planted their small crops, and brought in game. Women cooked in the large fireplaces, spun, wove, made soap, cared for the children, and did everything else their husbands had no time to do. The tableware was generally wooden, although there may have been some pewter. Most of the furniture and tools were home-made. Each family lived and worked with only occasional contact with neighbors, though they gave and received help when there was need for it.

Their life was hard, and they were often alone. Yet within 20 years churches had been built, and better roads linked the various parts of the township. There was a little more time for visiting, and fields were yielding good crops. Even a few mills had been set up to grind wheat and turn out planks for building. Landaff and its neighbors were well-established, promising communities by 1790, with the groundwork laid for the quick growth that was to come during the next half-century.

THE ORIGINAL LAND BASE AND ITS POTENTIALITIES

The soils[10] of Landaff are fairly typical of those in Grafton County in general because of their variety and complexity. In the whole county there are 105 soil types, of which only three constitute more than 3 percent of the area each. Many of the 102 others have an area of less than 0.5 percent. The three which exceed this limit are the Hermon stony sandy loam, 4.9 percent; rough stony land, 11.7 percent; and rough mountainous land, 27.4 percent. The last two are unsuited to agriculture. Landaff contains some 34 of these types, which may, in turn, be grouped into 17 classes.

Certain facts about the soils of Landaff are of interest in the consideration of settlement and abandonment, and of differences between the hill and river towns. Only a very small proportion of the land in this township is capable of producing good crops. Some of it – rough mountainous land and swampy bottomland, for instance – was recognized as being worthless by the first settlers; but many of the first houses were built on land of only limited capacity as far as crops were concerned. This does not necessarily mean that the settlers considered such soil to be good, for the best soil was not necessary to subsistence farming. A difference of a few bushels of corn or potatoes to the acre was not important as long as there was more land to be had. As commercialization grew, the importance of good soil became more evident. There were, of course, social, personal, and economic factors behind the depopulation of the town in later years; but the very soils upon which the people had settled were a strong factor in deciding the question of who could stay and who must abandon their land.

In all the hill towns there is to be found a fair extent of land capable of producing good hay and good potatoes, and some grain. Several of the soil types would

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[9]In certain of the North-Country towns, selectmen's and town meetings were held before the proprietor's meetings were discontinued.

[10]See Latimer, W. J., Layton, M. H., et al. *Soil Survey of Grafton County, New Hampshire*, U. S. Dept. Agr., Series 1935, No. 6, April 1939.

support adequate home gardens if given sufficient care. Apple trees can be grown where the frosts are not too severe. When the land was first cleared, it had upon it a very fertile layer of forest humus which made even the poorer soils fairly productive. But the hill country never has been and never will be suited to the large-scale production of commercialized crops other than potatoes and a little garden truck. And other areas such as Aroostook County in Maine, can far exceed the hill country in the production of potatoes.

Pasture is the one remaining agricultural use to which much of the poorer land may be put. Much of the pasture is not particularly good, but a great deal of it is available, and such land can be bought for low prices. Pasture and feed, the two main products of the hill soils, are the only products that can well be produced in a quantity to meet the needs of commercialization. This meant that to survive as commercial farmers the people of the hill towns had to concentrate on the growing of livestock. The sheep industry rose and fell and vanished. Beef raising and horse breeding were attempted. Dairying alone has withstood competition from outside.

In Landaff the forests on the poorest soils had much to offer to the settlers. When the demand for lumber arose, money came to the farmer when he needed it most and from the very part of his land which had not been worth clearing previously. Today much of the forest is stripped of its timber; but the second growth will in time be a great asset.

Soils are not the only factors in determining the potentialities of any given area. Climate and hydrology, topography and vegetative cover, must be considered as well. They are here considered in turn.

Although the climate of the hill country does not vary a great deal from one year to the next, it is a harsh climate except in summer, exerting its effect not only upon the farm techniques of the people but on their social and individual lives as well. Winter was formerly a time of virtual hibernation in which families had few contacts with others. Even today when snowplows and sanders are on the roads all winter, this remains true to some extent. In the early years the winters were no more rigorous than now, local histories and tales notwithstanding, but communication with the outside world was paralyzed and visiting between families outside the villages must have almost ceased.

Spring is late and winter comes early in the hill country, so the growing season is very short. Even so, the homesteaders who wanted only what they needed could produce an adequate harvest. Their cows had to be stabled and fed during a large part of the year, but with only two or three to care for, this was no great problem. It was not until commercialization and competition emerged that the short growing and grazing season became serious considerations.

Yet within the boundaries of such little towns as Landaff there is considerable variation in climatic conditions, owing to the differences in elevation. Frosts are more common and more severe in the hollows, and in winter the temperature might fall 10 degrees lower in one place than in another place that is only about 1 or 2 miles away. Then, too, there is a difference between the hill and valley towns. In the valley towns the temperature varies more widely. In Landaff frosts sometimes occur late in the summer, doing great damage to the crops. Almost complete crop failures due to frosts are extremely rare, but they have occurred.

Precipitation is variable, but this is not a serious problem to these farmers. The mean rainfall is about 35 inches, well distributed throughout the year. Periodically there are dry summers which result in damaged crops, and occasionally heavy rains cause minor floods in the valleys, but in general the total annual precipitation does not vary much from year to year.

The reliable annual rainfall of Landaff and its neighboring townships depends upon their proximity to the White Mountains. Not all of the hill country is so fortunate. Certainly the first settlers were concerned with the question of rain, if not with soils and temperature, for though a subsistence farm does not require the best land nor a long growing season, it must have sufficient moisture. Without rain, home gardens and cultivated fields will fail. Probably such predictable rainfall helped to induce certain men to move northward from their homes in less well-watered areas to the south.

Within about a century of the time this area was settled, many of its towns found their climate an economic asset. City people came up to the hills to avoid the heat of summer and they came in winter for the winter sports. But Landaff has never benefited directly from this because its hills are not so high as those to the east. Some of the Landaff people can earn a few dollars by working in the hotels and inns that have grown up in nearby towns. Few really care to do this, but economic obligations force them to it.

Streams and springs are numerous all through the hills. Landaff has more than its share. Besides a sizable brook, two rivers pass through the northern and southern sections. There are about 20 smaller brooks in the township. The settlers found many springs in the hills and rarely had to give up a location because of a shortage of water. In some cases wells were dug; in others the springs were merely cleared and stoned up.

The main hydrological feature of the area is, of course, the Connecticut River, into which all brooks run. To the first settlers it was sometimes known as the Great River - and with reason; for although it is not excessively large at this point, the few existing meadows lay along its banks, and here a line of villages sprang up. Also it afforded a connection with the outside world. In the earlier years there was considerable canoe traffic, and, when locks were put in downstream, a company in Hartford tried to run a steamboat line to White River Junction. The first boat came up in 1830, and for 2 years a few continued to run. But the trade was not profitable and because of shifting channels, the trip was difficult. In 1832 the line was discontinued.[11] Flatboats and log rafts were used on the river early and late. Hides, cheese, butter, freestone, shingles, poultry, and pork and wool went down; sugar, salt, iron, molasses, rum, and cloth came up. Even the lumber rafts were often used to ferry produce to market. As time passed, more and more commodities were transported to the North Country on flatboats until the stages and railroads were established.

Unevenness and ruggedness of terrain characterize the North Country. From the Connecticut Valley with its narrow terraces the hills rise up to the east and west.

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[11]Bittinger, John Quincy. *History of Haverhill, New Hampshire*, 1888.

Hanover is only 500 feet above sea level, whereas the hill towns vary within their boundaries between 900 and 2,000 feet. Farther east lie the mountains, standing 3,000 and 4,000 feet or more above sea level.

In Landaff there is only a very small extent of what might reasonably be called level land. Most of the fields are on the sides of the valleys where the slope is not too steep. The land on these slopes is well drained and much of it permits the use of machinery. The early comers, of course, cleared only a small proportion of available land, choosing level spots on the higher land where they had built their homes. The topography determined in part the establishment of roads and neighborhoods in the town.

In many parts of the United States the first pioneers could find some clear, open land on which to settle. This was true in much of the West and Middlewest, where the land lay ready for the plow. In the hill country of New England, those who wanted farms in the untouched areas had actually to cut them out of heavy forest. In Landaff there was almost certainly no natural meadow land whatever. The steep buf rounded hills were wooded over from top to bottom.

The forest cover of these hills was extremely varied. In the moist earth by the brooks were thickets of willow and alder. On the hillsides were large stands of evergreens – black timber. The hardwoods – birch, maple, oak, hickory, etc. – and the other perennials like poplar and beech surrounded them. Some of the lower hills were almost entirely of black timber – white pine mostly, while far up the mountains the place of the hardwoods was taken by spruce and balsam fir. The settlers usually cleared their fields out of hardwood groves, where the roots did not resist rot, as did those of the evergreens. Also these men felt that the "scruff" in the pine woods made an unsatisfactory mulch, while the rotting leaves of the hardwood provided excellent humus. The black timber that was left standing on the hill farms made a fine reserve of fuel and building material.

It is evident that this was a land of great variation, not a rich land, but one in which good sites and good locations existed in great numbers. The fertility of the tillable soil was adequate for good crops and this fertility has been fairly well preserved. If New England is thought of more and more as an infertile region, it is because more is demanded of it than before, and not, generally speaking, because its soil has deteriorated. It is easy to find pastures which have decreased in productivity and fields in need of lime and phosphate, but in general the soil has changed but little. A small part has been improved in productivity through years of good management.

In other words, for subsistence farming, this North Country was not a submarginal area except in a purely geographical sense. It was a land that was well equipped to support the man who would work hard and who, like most good Yankees, was a Jack-of-all-trades. With the exception of a few localities it has not been harmed by the use to which it has been put. Yet now, in 1941, some might claim that the North Country is a marginal area. They might point out that farmers cannot profitably raise their own feed, that the pasture season is short, and that distance from the market is great. These things are true. Landaff has *become* submarginal because its economic techniques, a part of its culture, and some of its standards and values have changed under the impact of outside forces. These things have changed, and with them have changed the relationship of the people to the land – the same land, still unspoiled. For cultural reasons the community unfitted itself to its environment.

As the man-land relationship became less efficient and less practicable, instability grew. This instability was evident in extensive emigration and in the decline of the local institutions. The culture lost some of its qualities and gained new ones, so that it was no longer a well-integrated totality. The local culture has not vanished, however. As we shall see, the traditions and mores of the past have left their mark on the thinking and behavior of the present. Many strongly characteristic attitudes and value systems remain. But the force of the total culture has been weakened.

LATER POPULATION CHANGES: REPLACEMENTS, MIGRATIONS, AND PRESENT COMPOSITION AND TRENDS

Figure 2 shows the periods of population increase and decline in Landaff and in two other comparable New Hampshire towns: Temple and Sutton. In the southern part of the State, the town of Temple reached its maximum population long before Landaff did, and Sutton, midway between the two, began to decline before Landaff and after Temple. In other words, the depopulation trend varied as the settlements moved northward. Probably the most valid explanation is that the southern townships became crowded, so far as their available resources were concerned, at an early date, and their people moved north to new land. This contributed to the growth of the new towns and caused losses in population in the older ones. Later, many of these older towns were to grow again at the expense of the north by setting up factories, but towns that have never been anything but farming communities (like Sutton and Temple) have steadily lost population (fig. 2).

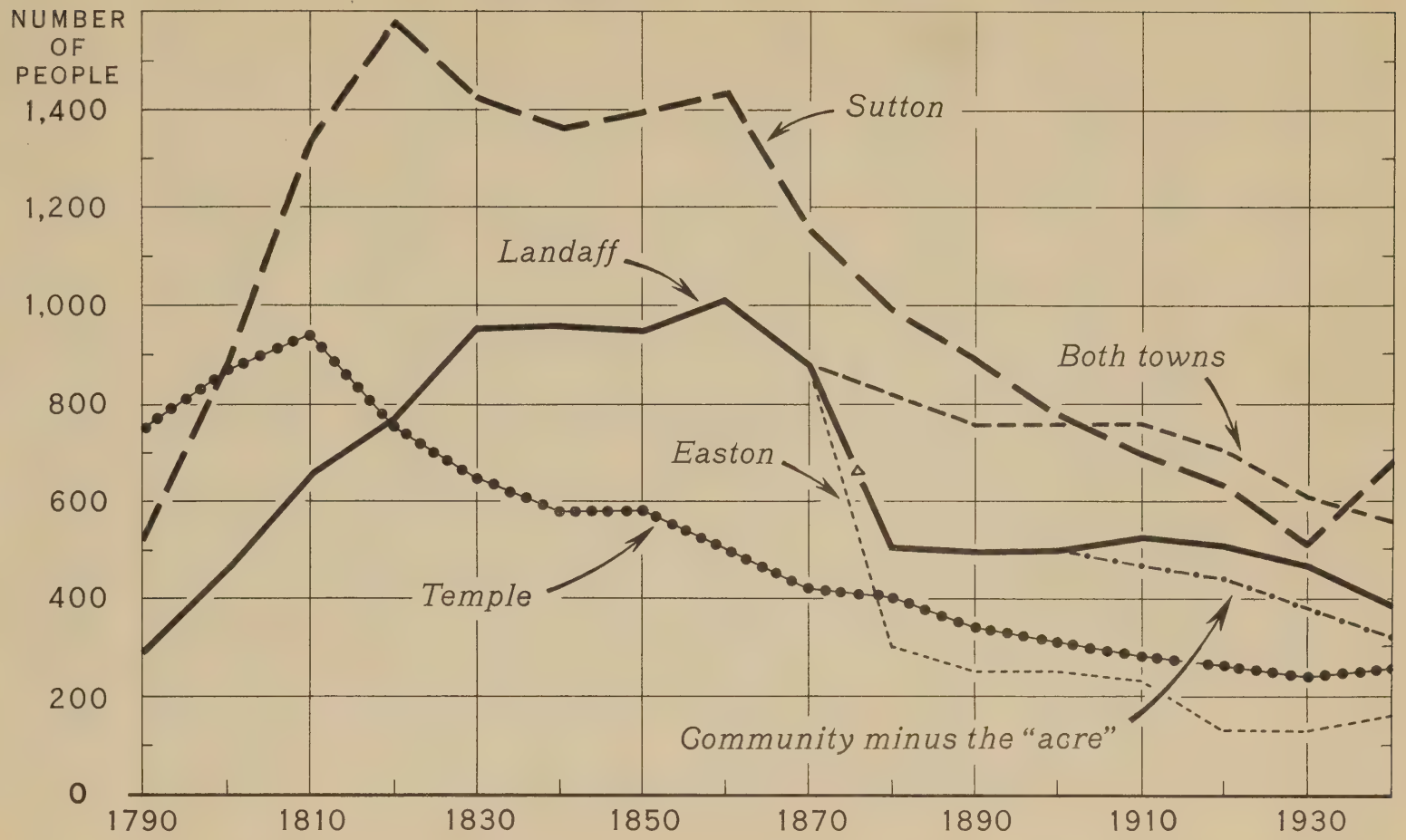
As to Landaff's population throughout the first 90 or 100 years, there are a few significant points to be made. The people were principally of Yankee stock and with the exception of several artisans (coopers, millers, smiths, cobblers, etc.), there was no sharp division into occupational classes and little, if any, difference in status. Newcomers were likely to be farmers like the rest.

During those years there were no population losses that were not replaced, no vital changes in the composition of the population and little migration. The Landaff of 1860 seems to have been the natural, direct development of the settlement of 1774. But since that date changes have occurred; these changes were rather subtle and undramatic but they have altered the character of the township as a whole.

Depopulation, which became a serious factor beginning in 1860 had two main causes: (1) subsistence farming had given way to partial commercialization and a growing dependence upon markets and money, and (2) as the West was opened and the factories developed toward the south, it became increasingly apparent that Landaff had not so much to offer as did other places.

Early census figures are fairly reliable up to 1860. From that date, however, they are misleading unless the facts that lie behind them are known. Thus, the great drop between 1860 and 1870 is due simply to the division of this single township into two townships, Easton and Landaff. Again, beginning with the year 1896, the continuing decline of population in Landaff is obscured through the enumeration by census takers of mill workers who lived in what is known as "The Acre"—a group of tenement houses built and owned by the lumber company, but which, by a geographical coincidence, happen

POPULATION TRENDS IN LANDAFF AND TWO OTHER NEW HAMPSHIRE TOWNS, 1790-1940



△ *LANDAFF AND EASTON DIVIDED, JUNE 1876*

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FIGURE 2

NEG. 39494 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

to lie across the town line in Landaff. These workers have never participated in the Landaff community life except in a political sense. Because of the rapid expansion of the lumber industry, this group increased in numbers during the period when the Landaff farm population continued to diminish. As a result, the census figures show the total population to be almost unchanging during a time when it was, in fact, declining rapidly.

Because there is no written history of this town, it is impossible to determine just when non-Yankees and nonfarm people began to arrive in any significant numbers. Probably foreigners and children of foreign parents were first brought in by the operators of the small mills; but the latter required very few extra laborers, and it is doubtful that there were more than a handful of people of foreign extraction in the whole township before "the Acre" was established. The town records show a few names before that date that might be Catholic Irish, but almost no Slavic, Italian, and French names appear until later.

For the years 1860 to 1890 the significant point was the rapid decline of population, without change or replacement in nationality stock. The reasons for this decrease are varied, but apparently in the face of local pressure on natural resources, the opening of the West and the development of factories in southern New England were the prime outlets for those who wished to leave.

There had always been a flow of young people out of the hill country for families were large and not all of the children could hope to stay on the home place. Enough young men and women remained to keep up all of the farms and factories in the community. The depopulation which began in 1860 was an accentuation of an already existing trend rather than a new development.

While this tendency for young farm people to go out of the township continued, a new factor appeared around the turn of the century which was to alter the social and economic structure of the town in later years. This was the arrival of a growing number of "floaters"- laborers and wage-hands of limited means who had no stable relationship to the community. Some were nonfarm people, Canadians who were usually wood-cutters, but others were of Yankee stock from farm families in the region. Despite the out-flow of young people, a growing number of young men did not wish to go to the factories. As the lumber business was at its height here shortly after 1900, and as farmers, turning to dairying, could use more hired help than before, these young men could find work without leaving the region. This local employment of surplus labor helps to account for the slight rise in population between 1900 and 1910 (fig. 2).

At present these non-farm-owning people number more than ever before, though most of the foreigners have gone now that large-scale lumber operations are at a standstill. Although census figures are of little help in an analysis of Landaff's population (since they include "the Acre") facts gathered from the town records give a reliable basis for generalization. They show that only slightly more than half of Landaff's population is to be classed as "rural farm" under the census definition, and that of these only 25 are full-time farmers.

In concluding this section no neat and definite generalization can be offered about this landless group, but its major features are these: It is made up of economically underprivileged people from several other communities, chiefly in northern New England. Most of them have no steady occupation. They are seldom active in the social

life of the community of Landaff, formal or informal. They are not bound to this locality and will leave whenever a better situation offers itself. For the most part they are younger laboring people capable of doing hard physical work, but there are some men who are too old to work, and who live as best they can from their savings and from the produce of their small gardens.

THE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT POPULATION

The first factor in land use to be considered concerns the ownership of land and the tenure system. Methods by which land was first acquired may be briefly restated as follows: In most cases a few men who had political influence with the colonial governors petitioned for a certain township already surveyed and marked off. If they received their grant they selected perhaps 50 or 60 others to be their co-grantees, and sent a delegation to the grant to arrange for its division into lots. The value of each man's share was determined, and a good number of the men sold their "rights" at once to their more ambitious colleagues. In some instances one individual would gain control over most of the land in a town.[12]

It is known that a great majority of the proprietors held their land only until they could sell it at a reasonably high figure. A few stayed on, though probably this did not happen in Landaff itself.

The actual settlers acquired their own plots of land either through drawing (if they were proprietors) or through the payment of a small sum to the town's vendue master, or by buying a farm with its improved land direct from a previous settler who wished to move away. In general, each individual owned his "pitch," but this was not always the case.[13]

Not only was ownership almost universal, but ownership meant occupancy. After the grantee speculators had disposed of their holdings, there were probably no non-resident owners in the north.[14] A number of settlers owned land at some distance from their "home places," but it was they who cultivated this land if it was cultivated at all. Tenant farming was then unknown.

The settlements in the northern counties revealed certain variations from earlier patterns of ownership. This was particularly true of the land held in common, which system was not carried over from the earlier villages. Unlike some early New England settlements which retained the Old World characteristic of more or less compact villages, homes were scattered over the entire townships.

As to every other aspect of the original culture of the North Country, later commercialization brought definite changes to the pattern of occupancy and tenure. With the coming of the sheep business, large areas of pasture were needed. The big operators bought new land and rented more, so that there was some diversity in the size of the various holdings. When the lumber business developed, stumpage was rented and

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[12] See Hoskins, E. B. *Historical Sketches of Lyman, New Hampshire*, 1903

[13] See Jackson, James R., op. cit., who describes the appearance of tenant operation in one of the townships near Landaff.

[14] One exception to this rule was the Governor who reserved for himself a tract of about 500 acres in each of the new townships.

woodsmen came to live on land that was not theirs. Lumbermen bought up small farms for the timber on them, and were only too glad to sell or rent them after they had been stripped.

By 1900 it was not unusual for a man to rent a small farm for a few years before buying one of his own. Plenty of places were to be rented at low rates, and it was considered a wise thing to do. As credit was not difficult to obtain and prices for cream and livestock were adequate, the renter usually became an owner in the course of 5 or 10 years. Often, too, a young man would leave his father's farm when he married and rent a small place not far distant until he could return and take over the home place.

Not all renters were farm people. As large farmers bought up deserted land or buildings near them, there were opportunities for village people to rent nonfarm homes. The owner would wish to use the land that went with his new purchase, but would have no use for the house. If the house happened to be located in that part of the town which was adjacent to the nearby village, the farmer sold or rented it to a villager at a low price.

As to the nonfarm people (who were no factor until the latter part of the nineteenth century), those who were of Landaff parentage generally owned their own homes. Those who came from outside lived in the town as a matter of convenience, usually renting a house or a building shack on rented property.

Changes during the twentieth century have intensified existing conditions, with the large operators sometimes owning five or six houses, bought for the land that went with them when the original owners left. There have been more and more farms or houses for sale or rent and fewer young people to take them. Recently, credit has been hard to get, so that the prospects of moving up from renter to owner status are less good than they were. Still, ownership of as much land as possible is the standard for farm people.

The practices of the early settlers were maintained for about 50 years with little change. The man-land relationship was extremely simple; there was no need for complex methods. With his yoke of oxen (for horses were seldom used as draft animals) the settler could do the necessary plowing and haul the logs from his wood lot; and his scant farm equipment was sufficient to his needs.

It is not easy to discover details of the early husbandry in this area. Belknap, writing at about the time that the North Country was being settled, gives a few notes on the subject.[15] He says that the intervales were well suited to grain (though wheat was rare at first) and the hills provided good pasture. Spruce and hemlock land was of a low quality for farming, and pine land was little better; but pine and "oyl-nut" trees together indicated good, deep earth. Beech and maple land, he writes, was good.

One method of clearing was to girdle the trees, remove the brush, get a crop out of the humid earth without much plowing, and to mow and pasture it the second year; but it was generally conceded even then that the good farmer cut all of his trees at once. This more laborious method was not without its reward, for the trees that were felled

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[15]Belknap, Jeremy, op. cit., Vol. 3.

had to be burned and from the ashes could be made potash and pearl-ash[16] to trade for necessities in the towns. If the humus was not burned out of the land in this process, it would produce well. Without being plowed it would give the husbandman a crop of about a ton of hay to the acre, and because plowing was a difficult task in the rocky and root-bound soil, this was very important.

The basic tools were the plow, the scythe, the rake, the hoe, the spade, and the fork. Obviously, some of these could be made in the home and all could be repaired at home so they did not make the farmer dependent upon craftsmen elsewhere.

As to the use of the land, it is said that once the rich forest earth had been cropped for a year or two, its strength was gone and it needed to be built up. But here again the farmer was able to solve his problem at home, for each had a good many head of livestock and knew the use of manure as a fertilizer. He saved all of it for his corn land - sometimes spreading it there, sometimes simply putting it in small piles.

This basic subsistence farming maintained itself in the hill country for almost 50 years. There was no real market for the cash-crop operator. Such things as potash and wool skins, however, were easily carried out to trade upon occasion. The townships to the south occasionally drove fat cattle to Boston as early as 1790, but Landaff and most of the northern area were too far from the urban centers to do this, and the cattle of the north were of poor stock, small and inbred, and unsuited to taking on fat or giving much milk. Yet the cattle, like the land, supplied as much as their owners required. After all, what could a man do with extra milk? And feed was available in any quantity.

For a long time self-sufficiency was maintained intact. There was no deterioration and there was very little improvement.

But changes did take place. Lumber became more and more valuable, and a quantity was moved down the Connecticut River. Additional saw mills sprang up. A little more trade with the outside developed, and more land was cleared. But it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that any qualitative change took place. Then, when the Industrial Revolution reached New England and the new textile mills created a market for wool, specialization of a sort became possible. More pasture was cleared, and the proportion of pasture land to tillage became greater. New tools became available - the cultivator, not used extensively in the north before 1840; improved plows, though some still thought that the all-metal plowshare was bad for the soil; and horse-rakes and threshers. And there was money with which to buy them. A little later the reaper and the mowing-machine were introduced, but were not quickly taken up here.

Wheat, once produced in only very small quantities because of the lack of machinery, was now a good crop. The West was not yet competing and the prices were reasonably good. Farmers who had not before bred fine animals spent large sums for well-bred Merino or Saxony sheep and tried to improve the native stock as well.[17] Potatoes had been scarce at first, but when contact was established with the southern towns, starch could be traded. The local factories did a profitable business until a

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[16]Potash was made by boiling wood ashes to produce a kind of crude lye. Pearl-ash was simply purified potash.

[17]Bidwell, Percy Wells and Falconer, John I. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States*, Carnegie Institution, Washington, D. C., 1925, pp. 217-222.

New Hampshire man built a starch factory in Aroostook County, Maine, in 1874 and ruined the industry in his home State.

The sheep brought about changes in the actual handling of the soil that remained after the price of wool had dropped to almost nothing. Once commercialization had begun it was hard to abandon. The market to the south did not offer so much to the hill-country farmers after the West had become the center of sheep raising, but it continued to be a market, and the new railroad (which reached Lisbon in 1853) made it possible to ship even perishables.

From the time the wool market began to fall off until the present there has been no one specific pattern to which most farmers adhered and no standardization of techniques. Every man had his own ideas and his own way of carrying them out. Some raised sheep of a new breed, others beef cattle and horses, still others specialized upon one or another garden crop, or upon potatoes. A few even continued to produce fine wool and were able to make a living in spite of the low prices. It is unlikely, therefore, that any two farms would have been producing similar things in similar ways. Yet in spite of this variation, it might be said that there was a certain basic pattern. Each had a variety of crops and livestock, each had a woodlot that was worked every winter, and each was operated very much as a one-family affair, with possibly one hired man. Farms of 1870 and 1880 differed primarily from those of 1820 in that all were specialized to some extent along one particular line. The farmer of 1820 had a little of everything, whereas the farmer of 1870 had a little of everything and a good deal of one particular thing.

About 1900, when the majority of the farmers of this area were convinced that dairying was the only really reliable kind of agriculture, new patterns appeared. The change was more an adaptation than an innovation. On the specialized dairy farm less time was devoted to the actual cultivation of the soil, and the variety of crops declined.

Although the hill country, with its steep and rocky land, did not permit of much mechanization (most of the useful machines adaptable to hill farms were in use by the time of the Civil War), farmers took over as much of the new machinery as they could. As separators, milking machines, and tractors became available, they came into fairly common use.

The practices associated with commercial dairying were in the direction of a more scientific and more business-like kind of farming. There were requirements to be met which had never existed in the days of subsistence farming or of raising sheep. These were the changes that had the deepest effect upon the total culture.

But even on the most specialized farms in this community, as in neighboring areas, a good many of the old practices were maintained along with dairying. Lumbering, for instance, was never given up, for at about the time dairying became firmly established, the price of lumber was near its peak and every man had a large supply on his own property. Each winter the farmer harvested his forest crop and so increased his small yearly income. The home garden could never be discontinued where cash incomes were so inadequate.

The general situation in regard to land use did not, and does not now differ very much from that of earlier times. No matter how interested in scientific farming

the northern farmer became, no matter how efficiently he wished to operate his farm, it was still necessary for him to do a good deal of work by hand and to cultivate and fertilize his land much as he had always done. Pasture land could not well be improved, for most of it was too rough to work with a team or a tractor. Besides this, it must be understood that many factors responsible for the development of special techniques in other parts of the country never existed in this area. Terracing and contour plowing are practically unheard of here. The best way of preparing a small New England field today is almost identical with that of half a century ago, except that seeders might be used, the cultivators might be of a better kind, and, if the field were exceptionally level, its owner might do his work with a tractor.

Some individual farmers have not yet been able to adapt themselves to really scientific farming. But the effect of the few who have done so upon the total community has been marked. They are considered fools by some but are considered progressive by the majority, and the term "progressive" is always used in a complimentary sense in this area.

A word must be said regarding abandonment. As significant and characteristic as this process has been, it has never affected the agricultural techniques of the area. Abandonment was seldom partial; either a farm was wholly abandoned or its fields were maintained in reasonably good condition. Therefore, it can be said that, although the extent of abandoned land in the township has increased markedly since 1860, the extent of abandoned land on the farms that are now being used is very little more than it was then. Apparently none of the abandoned land shown in figure 3 is a part of the farms that are being operated at the present time.

Certain generalizations can be made about the way in which sons and daughters of farm families made their living from the earliest settlement up to the present. Until 1830 very few left the community and nearly all of those that remained turned to farming. From 1830 to 1860 a few young people left, most of them going to other rural townships or to the West, while a very few went to the factories in the cities. Certain youths as they grew up became interested in the possibility of acquiring money through some occupation other than farming. Many of the shops and factories in the villages were started by young men from the farms who had a feeling for business. Other boys went on the road as traders. Others were better with an axe and a peavey than with a hoe or a scythe, and became lumbermen.

From 1860 to 1900 girls began going southward to do domestic work or to work in the factories as their brothers had done, while the boys turned more to the West. Later, even the boys went southward to the factories, for the western land had become too expensive for them to buy. Several small local factories were in operation during this period. Several were run by young men who wished to stay in the community, but who saw little future in farming. But by 1900 nearly all of these had been forced out of business by the growth of larger plants in nearby towns.

Beginning with the boom of the lumber industry toward the end of the nineteenth century, a new situation appeared in the towns. Not all of the young people were farm people, and not all of them acted as farm youth would have done. The newly-founded lumber company needed men to work in the forest and the newly-established dairy farms needed hired laborers, but few of the workers owned farms or wished to own them. They were a class of semimigratory paid laborers.

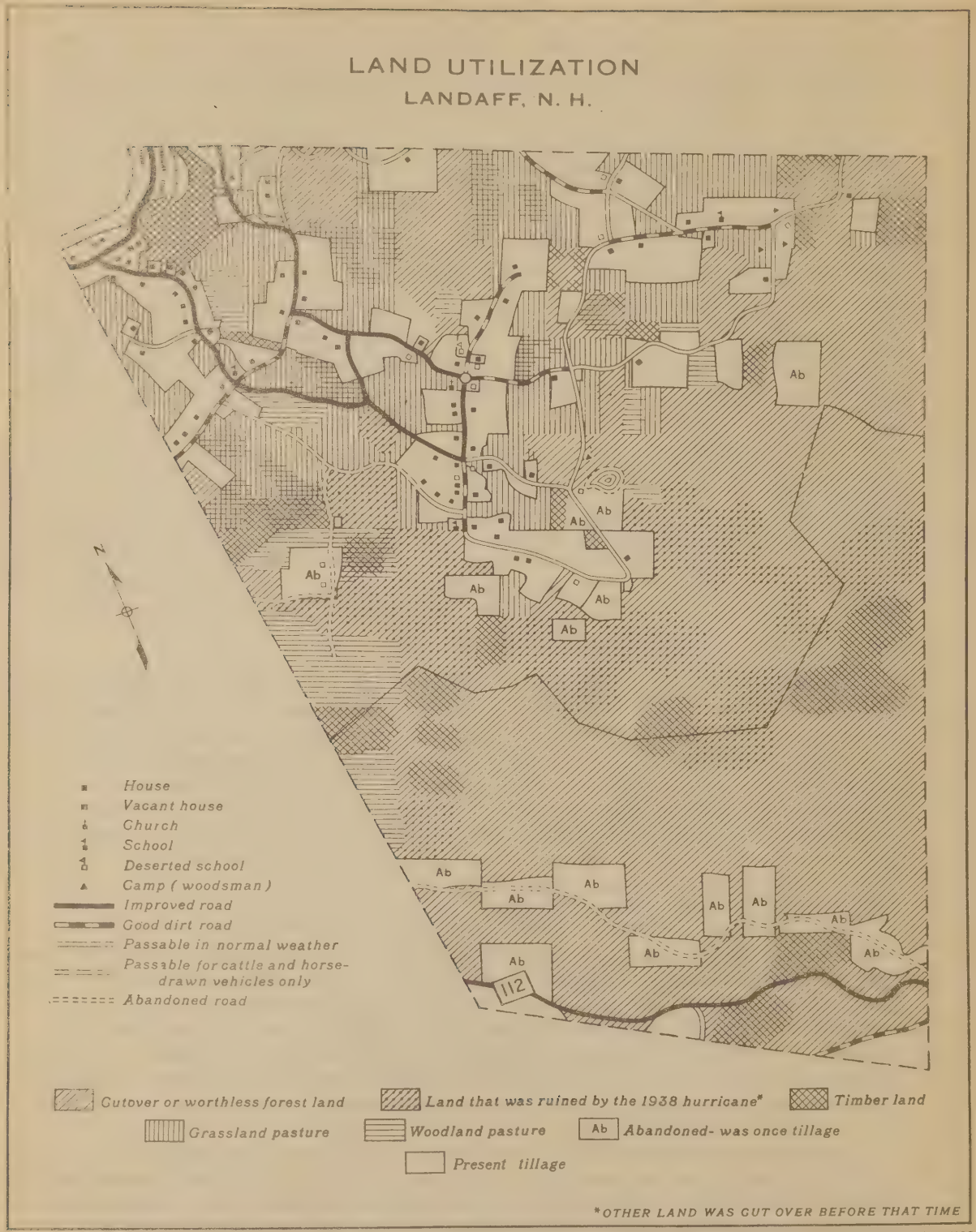
LAND UTILIZATION
LANDAFF, N. H.
N
Ab
112
House
Vacant house
Church
School
Deserted school
Camp (woodsman)
Improved road
Good dirt road
Passable in normal weather
Passable for cattle and horse-drawn vehicles only
Abandoned road
Cutover or worthless forest land
Land that was ruined by the 1938 hurricane*
Timber land
Grassland pasture
Woodland pasture
Ab Abandoned- was once tillage
Present tillage
*OTHER LAND WAS CUT OVER BEFORE THAT TIME
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. 39496
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 3

Generalizations as to the behavior of the younger people of Landaff since the World War cannot be made. Most of them left the hill towns, and it is probable that more went to the cities than to other rural areas. But the kind of work they sought and the hope that each had for the future vary from one individual to the next. They did not leave their homes because of a fear that they could not make their living there; they left because the kind of a living they could make was not the one they wanted. The level of living at the time of the World War was considerably higher than it had been in the previous history of the town; but the young people wanted more.

Throughout the history of this area the family has been the basic functional unit around which most activities have revolved. The first settlers came by families, not by large groups. Once there, each family was forced to be self-reliant, hence not much help could be given except upon certain occasions. As it was possible for a family to exist and maintain itself upon the land as an independent unit, strong and lasting sanctions and values were built up around the family situation. There was a definite and simple relationship between the family and the land. It is not possible to give any detailed description of these relationships, but elderly people in the town have furnished some insight by way of current tradition:

The father was the head and master of each family. He met the problems created by a none-too-easy environment, and made life possible for the others. His sons were his disciples and his helpers, and were his wards until they were equipped to shift for themselves.

The mother, once established in a home built by her husband, was responsible for the translation of raw materials taken from the land into articles and commodities necessary to the well-being of the whole family. She possessed a number of skills which she alone could pass on to her daughters. All comforts and minor luxuries were in her province, as well as the care of the sick and the raising of children.

Although Bidwell[18] says that the morals in all of New England in the early years were extremely low, and that heavy drinking was the custom, he remarks upon the thrift and hard work of the people who had to live under a self-sufficient economy, and isolation made for a strong consolidation of the bonds established within the family.

A strong sense of interdependence arose among the members of the family. Children early came to realize that hard enterprise of the parents was responsible for the livelihood of the entire family. Even in their early years they rendered services to the whole family which partially offset the demands they made upon their parents. As they grew older, they required more; but as they grew older, they could also produce more.

There were few organizations outside the family. The churches had lost tremendously in influence after the Revolutionary War so there was no very great incentive for the farmers and farm families to organize themselves into a congregation, pay money to erect a church building and employ a minister.

Politics, too, had little effect upon the townships in northern New Hampshire – they shared with the rest of rural New England a dislike for the laws and the courts.

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[18] Ibid.

When the settlers had a chance to come together they enjoyed themselves heartily. Historians of the day, most of them ministers, declare that the people of the hill country were boisterous and wild, and no doubt they were, as judged by current theological standards.

Cooperation outside the family was dictated largely by circumstances. Houses and barns could not be built by one man, and it was not efficient to do certain kinds of work unaided. The things around which such mutual aid centered were limited and definite, and although help might be given in many ways, it was not to be demanded.

Visiting was not common because it was often impossible. Cooperative work provided occasion for friendly social intercourse, as did church meetings. There was no lack of interest in neighborhood or town events; people attended husking bees, paring bees, and berry-picking parties with great enjoyment; women visited when they could, and men stopped to talk with their neighbors when they passed by. But these things were incidental to the independent existence of the family which long remained a basic value.

As money became easier to get, as a certain amount of leisure time became available, certain organizations were formed. Churches partly recovered their status after the Revolutionary War, and these groups sponsored, together with a few other organizations, chiefly in imitation of those in the southern New England towns, acquired a fair number of members. Yet, with the decline of the community, all these organizations lost again and most of them disappeared entirely. At present, all that remain are a local church and the Grange, and this church is primarily an organization for a few farm women. Perhaps in 1860, when the town was at its height, all of its organizations were important in their own right; but this is no longer so and was not so before 1860. As in 1830, so in 1940—the existence of the family as an independent unit is the important and basic value.

Probably individualism was tolerated here more than it was in long-settled places because people were so thoroughly isolated that group behavior could not develop easily. Probably there was more individual freedom in the early period than in any other. Little social pressure was exerted upon the individual, because there was no centralized social control. Not only did the environment make for personal freedom, but many of the settlers had left the older settlements to escape certain social controls.

Hard work and thrift were respected because they were essential. A shiftless man who let others help him and who could not take care of his family might be tolerated, but certainly he had few friends. Since such a man probably lived on his farm away from other people most of the time, he could withstand such social condemnation almost indefinitely. But the inevitable result of shiftlessness was failure, so that he had either to leave or to "go on the town" and be auctioned off to the lowest bidder as an acknowledged pauper.

Hospitality appears to have been the rule in the past. Before money became a basis, generosity in work and in material goods was common and approved, and it was nonetheless sincere for being tempered with thrift.

As time passed, Landaff became a settled community. People came together more often and were better able to express approval or disapproval of various ways of life

in the township. In this the local church and certain other community organizations had a place.

Even so, the individualism of many people defied these none-too-strong attempts at control. So long as a man did not have to rely upon his neighbors for help—and no successful farmer did or does—he could fly in the face of other people's ways of doing things without fear of any retaliation. In a place where people remain year after year, seeing only each other, and at the same time are relatively independent of each other, social condemnation is seldom expressed directly to nonconforming individuals. It is taken for granted that to do so would do no good and would open the condemner to reciprocal censure. There is an old saying in Landaff that is still true: "He pays his bills, so he can do as he likes."

In the first half of the nineteenth century, before the railroads and loggers came in, the people of Landaff were men and women anxious to raise families and to own pleasant homes and what luxuries they could afford. They farmed for the sake of farming and lived for the privelege of doing and thinking and saying what they felt like doing or thinking or saying. Had they not felt that these things were important, they would never have settled in the North. A few fortunes were made later in lumbering, but such wealth certainly had not been anticipated.

The shift to a money economy, the end of almost complete subsistence, induced new aims and ambitions. When new objects were available, people wanted them—and it took money to buy them. Money brought control and power; but the old values did not vanish overnight. They have not yet vanished, for there is felt to be a quality not only of logic but of *good* or of *virtue* in hard work and in thrift and in independence. Certain individuals began to work to make money, but even after commercialization was well established most men here farmed for the sake of farming. The real change was that those who were in the best situation made the most money and the poor could no longer be independent; that young men had to work for older men to earn money so they could farm too; and that money took on a new significance, giving prestige to those who had it.

§

MAKING A LIVING

The economic foundations of the Landaff community are now to be examined. While it will become apparent that other than strictly economic values have their part in these people's lives, it is equally true that circumstances, chiefly external to the township and over which the inhabitants had no control, have profoundly altered their lives and the prospects of the future.

LAND USE

The present condition of the land in Landaff township, as far as production goes, is not unlike what it was 150 years ago. There is more tillage (though some such land has been abandoned) at present than formerly. Most tillable land is as capable of producing now as it was in the past. Fields need heavy fertilizing, plowing, and harrowing but given this treatment, they respond as before.

The fact that certain crops are no longer produced in Landaff – crops that were important in their day, such as wheat and flax – does not imply an impoverishment of the land resources, but rather changes brought about by external influences. Erosion has not robbed the land of its topsoil except in a few places and to a small extent, and only one of the varied soil types to be found here is subject to leaching.

Pasture land is abundant, but it has become poorer in recent years because there is some erosion (confined almost entirely to this type of land) some of it is growing up to brush. Nevertheless, almost all of the half-abandoned pasture land could be reclaimed if anyone thought it worth-while, for the land base is, for the most part, unharmed.

The forest alone has been stripped of its resources. Figure 3 showed how little salable timber still stands in the township. It also indicated that this forest was destroyed to a certain extent by the hurricane of 1938 and not by the jobbers. The map is a bit deceptive, however, for it gives the impression of large areas of wasted, stripped land with ruined forest. This is not the case. A layman observer, looking at Landaff's hills, would believe them heavily wooded and seemingly untouched but for the wreckage of the hurricane.

These forests have never been destroyed. In a few places the jobbers cut trees that were too small, but generally they left saplings enough to reforest the land. Now the trees are coming back and it will not be long before they will again be valuable as timber. Even now farmers can cut salable timber in winter from their woodlots if they wish to, but the hurricane has so stocked the market that prices are not good. This situation, of course, is temporary.

It can be seen, then, that Landaff's resource base – that is, the fields, pasture, and forest – is practically as productive as ever. It is suited to the production of only certain crops, but the inevitable conclusion is that the same land that once

supported a stable and satisfied community in comparative plenty now has a rapidly declining population.

This point cannot be overemphasized. The farm people are descendants of the pioneers and the land itself is unchanged. But changes occurring far beyond the hill country so altered the values and attitudes of the people *in certain respects* that the basic relationship of man to the land has been greatly modified. As new standards and requirements emerged the land could no longer fulfill the needs of the people.

Extensive changes in ownership have taken place since the time when the entire population was occupied with farming. Except for the holdings of nonresidents, approximately 36 of the 72 resident families in Landaff own 98 percent of the land. The holdings of the farmers vary between 60 and 1,000 acres, with most of them falling somewhere between 100 and 200 acres. As a matter of fact, 7 men own one-half of the holdings of the local residents; the other 2 percent is owned by the so-called floaters, very few of whom come from families of long standing in the community. Many of these floater families own practically nothing and live in small houses rented from the farmers with perhaps an acre or two of land.

Almost all of the larger holdings are in the hands of the old families. Figure 4 compares the size of holdings of those who have come into the township in the last 10 years with those of the older residents. It is significant that almost two-thirds of these late comers own little or nothing and that none has more than 100 acres. Twenty-nine of the 72 families in the Landaff community (excluding "the Acre") fall within this category, and of these, only two could be called real farmers. Of the two, one farms a place owned by a nonresident.

More than one-half of the acreage of Landaff is owned by nonresidents. Their holdings consist largely of forest land, much of which is of little value at present, but includes some abandoned tillage and woodland pasture. A lumber company controls the greater part of such land. Other timber holdings are as small as 100 acres. The few nonresident owners who are not lumbermen are not so readily grouped: one is a large property-holder whose farm is operated by a tenant, while two or three others are men who have given up their places in the more remote parts of the township but have not yet sold them. Between them, these owners possess 400 or 500 acres. The bank of a nearby village owns one farm. There remains one more piece, about 1,250 acres of badly cut-over forest that is owned by the Federal Government. The tract is being prepared for reforestation. (See fig. 3)

Thus there are now sharp differences in the size and nature of holdings where once there was only slight variation. Largely responsible for this change are (1) the depopulation to which the area has so long been subject and (2) the lumber industry. Other causes include the growing commercialization and dependence upon money and upon the outside world.

For the most part, the larger and better holdings in the hill towns are in the hands of the living representatives of the old families with the exception of a few places held by men native to other but adjacent towns. The smaller properties are owned by the nonfarm population consisting of a few old people who are living on small incomes and of those who depend on nearby factory work or on day labor on farms, in the woods, or on the highways.

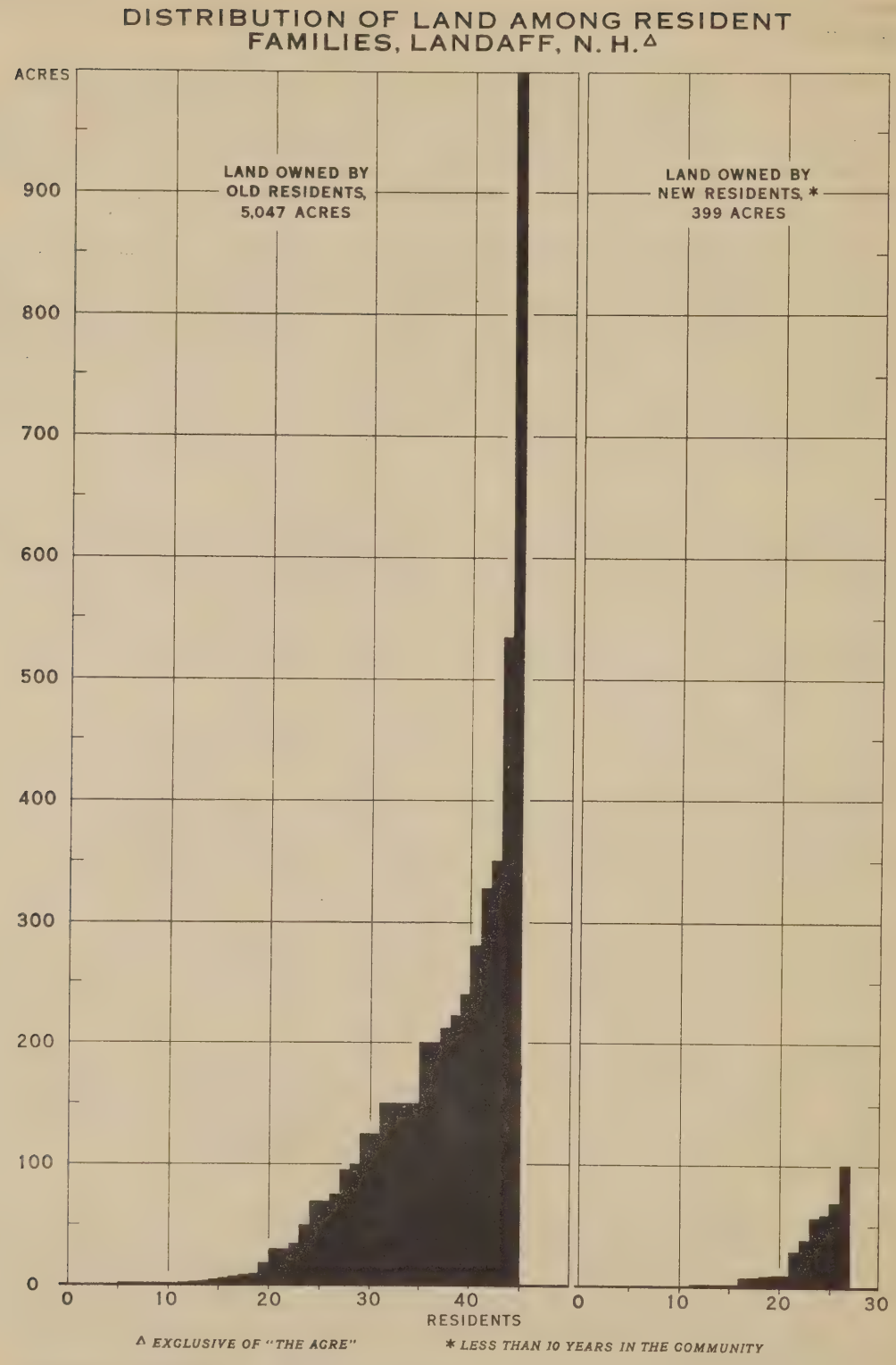
DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG RESIDENT FAMILIES, LANDAFF, N. H.△
ACRES
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
LAND OWNED BY OLD RESIDENTS, 5,047 ACRES
LAND OWNED BY NEW RESIDENTS, * 399 ACRES
0
10
20
30
40
RESIDENTS
0
10
20
30
△ EXCLUSIVE OF "THE AGRE"
* LESS THAN 10 YEARS IN THE COMMUNITY
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. 39499 BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 4

Statistical averages of land ownership in Landaff are misleading, for the one or two unusually large holdings distort the arithmetic mean. Figure 9 presented the essential facts: (1) variation is the keynote in any consideration of land ownership, (2) more than half the holdings are far too small to permit a living to be made by farming alone; and (3) the size of *actual* farms is highly variable, ranging from 60 to 1,000 acres.

Here in a country of cut-over forest and much rough or shallow land, money value and size of holdings are not closely correlated, so that the latter must be considered separately. The invoice books of the township indicate that total evaluations for individual families have increased and become diversified, over the years. Some are lower than any were a century ago, but more are considerably larger. This observation is confirmed by the fact that the town's total evaluation (minus the evaluation of the lumber company's holdings which is great) is only slightly less than it was in 1880. Since fewer places are inhabited or operated now than in 1880, the average value of individual holdings has risen.

Values for the small nonfarm homes of the floaters and other poorer people are fairly uniform; they fall between $700 and $2,000, depending upon the condition of the house. Full-time farms are assessed from $1,500 or so to $14,595, most of them lying between $3,000 and $6,000. These figures include all taxable livestock as well as property. For house and buildings alone, figures would run around one-fourth less than these. Census figures for 1930 give the average farm value for Landaff as $3,165. This is broken down as follows: dwelling, $1,100; out-buildings, $476; and land, $1,319, The figures for 1935 and 1940 are practically the same, the average farm value being put at $3,068 in 1935. It is evident that farm values have remained fairly constant during the last decade.

The average value per acre of the larger farms is less than for the small ones. for more forest land is included and most of this is either cut-over or has been injured by the hurricane. It is rarely assessed at more than $2 to $4 an acre, whereas mowing and good pasture land are considered to be worth $10 or more. (The 1930 census gives $11 per acre as the average.) The 1,000-acre farm, therefore, is evaluated at only $1,000 more than another one of 300 acres which includes more and better tillage.

The socio-economic stratification in Landaff is not so striking as it is in the South or in other parts of the country. Moreover, there is not much mobility up or down the agricultural ladder. There are no tenants in the sense of sharecroppers. With one exception every farmer who operates his place as a major source of income owns the land and buildings, the exception being a man who manages another's farm at a fixed wage. The small renters operate very small holdings, or none at all, and supplement their incomes by outside work, usually nonagricultural. Occasionally a young man rents a farm for a time, hoping ultimately to be able to acquire a place of his own; but there are few opportunities for such practice now.

Three or four places have been bought in recent years by city people who use them for summer residence. Two formerly-urban families live on fair-sized holdings, but do not farm them. There is a growing inclination among elderly owners to prefer to sell any extra holdings to prospective summer residents rather than to try to rent these places to poor young men who may not be able to make the small monthly or annual payments.

Lines of class distinction relate to the prestige of ownership and to the fact that a man farms his own property, but as ownership has always been the rule it is taken more as a matter of course than in some other parts of our country. In the early years the ownership of large tracts of land did not necessarily bring a man respect and high social position, for any man might acquire more land than he could use if he chose to do so. There were no tenants and no laborers. Now, the possession of a good, large farm is something to be proud of, but agricultural tenancy in the ordinary sense of the word still does not exist.

Of the farm owners in Landaff, only a small minority actually climbed the hypothetical ladder of laborer, tenant (in this case, renter), and owner. Most of the farms are now owned by men who either inherited them from their fathers or got them from their fathers-in-law. When young, most of these men worked as laborers and received a little pay; but it was understood that the place would be theirs eventually. The middle rung of the ladder was often omitted.

A few farmers went through a fairly definite series of steps which, though never universal, was common and accepted. One man, for example, proceeded as follows: Having completed a grade-school course, he went out as a factory worker to earn a little money. A year later he had put aside about $300, but thought he needed experience on a farm so an uncle hired him for a year at a very low wage, with board. He then worked for a stranger at a slightly higher wage for a year. Then, with about $500 in his pocket and his wedding day set, he went to see a cattle dealer of his acquaintance. With great care he selected ten young cows of good quality whose combined price was about $1,000, paid the man $500 and promised him a certain percentage of the milk checks until the balance was paid. A few weeks later he moved to a small, rented farm with his new wife and ten good cows. By judicious borrowing and hard work he got along until his milk business had been arranged, whereupon he paid off the dealer at more than the required rate. A year later he owned his herd which included several fine new heifers, owned all the necessary machinery, and had a little money in the bank. Two or three years later he moved away to a farm of his choosing which be bought with a small mortgage already on it; 10 years later he was the owner of a fine herd, 100 acres of good land, even more machines, and he owed no one.

Another man in Landaff, starting in somewhat similar fashion, now owns the largest farm in the locality and 100 head of stock. Others in nearby towns have done the same thing, but no young men are *successfully* following this procedure today. Credit is difficult to obtain and prices are not so good as they were during and just after the World War. Most young men in this region do not now consider such undertakings. Not only are they unwilling to rent in order finally to own places of their own, but even the clear prospect of inheriting an adequate farm does not suffice to keep them at home.

Tenants are practically non-existent and farmer-renters are few, but there are a certain number of laborers in Landaff. They range in age from 25 to 60. Few are employed constantly by one man. Some live by day labor of different kinds. Not one of them expressed any wish to be a farmer; but beyond this they are not readily classed together. Some fall definitely into a highly mobile group who move from place to place as chances for work appear. Two are sons of old families, whose fathers are impoverished. These men will leave the community when they get a good chance. Several older

men depend upon labor to supplement the subsistence farming they carry out on their 5 or 6 acres. The relationship between such people as these and the farmer-owners will be taken up in detail in Chapter IV.

The most common way to acquire a farm in Landaff is by inheritance. There are no fixed rules or distinctive patterns of inheritance.[19] Money, if there is any, is left to be divided among the children, though special arrangements may be made in the case of a child who has married someone with money or another who can never save what he has. Farms are not always inherited so simply, for there is a feeling on the part of the old people that the farm must go on. To leave it, for example, to the oldest boy, who might be a mechanic in Concord or a waiter in Lebanon, would mean that it would probably be sold at once. For this reason several farms are owned by men who got them from their fathers-in-law. These men, upon marrying, had expressed the wish to continue farming, and as the sons had gone to the city or elsewhere, the property was turned over to them. The father of a daughter and son of 10 and 12 respectively, said that he hoped to leave the place to the boy, but that if the son should choose to go away (and he could hardly wonder if that was the decision) he would pass it on to whomever the daughter might marry, provided he was a good young man.

More is implied in this than a simple wish to perpetuate the life of the farm. There is the practical question of the care of the owner in his old age. After a certain point he must have a helper and finally someone to take his place – a son-in-law or a son. On the basis of so small a sample as the Landaff data, it is difficult to detect any trend in inheritance practice but apparently the father-in-law to son-in-law transfer, although nothing new, is becoming as frequent as that from father to son.

If an owner dies in the prime of his life, his place goes to his wife or to whatever children may be living at home. In two cases in Landaff women have inherited going farms and have operated them. One has a son and a married daughter living with her who will support her when she becomes too old to "do for herself." The other is unmarried and must hire a great deal of help to carry on the work of the large farm. Operating this farm means losing money, but she continues to have the hay cut and the land cleared because she cannot see the place decline. She knows of no one who will take care of her in old age, and yet she spends what money she has on this place. Her ancestors cleared this land during the early years of Landaff, it has been in her family for generations, and she feels she cannot neglect it.

Certain details of present-day land use may be here reviewed.

A good deal of variation in definite crop patterns is to be found in Landaff, due chiefly to soil, topography, and even climatic differences associated with altitude. The one crop harvested by every farmer every year is hay, but some mixed oats and barley are produced and many raise a considerable quantity of potatoes and some corn.

The hay yield varies between 1 and 3 tons to the acre, though the latter is rather unusual. Every mowing must be heavily fertilized and the field must occasionally be plowed in order to keep the yield from falling off with the passage of time. Most

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[19]Belknap, (vol. 3), op. cit. This author says that in the time of which he writes it was customary for a father to give a "settlement" to his eldest son and to help him clear it. The youngest son stayed at home, aided his parents, and finally inherited the place.

farmers take adequate steps to keep the yield from decreasing. Farmers in the vicinity often say that the secret of making money with a little dairy is good hay and plenty of it.

Figure 3 showed the reader the extent of tillage and mowing in Landaff. Actual figures as to present acreage in one or another crop are not available, but as the figures for one year would not necessarily be the same as for another this lack is not serious. The best-quality land is in separate fields, usually discontinuous. Almost every field has upon it a house, yard, and small garden; but the rest is usually hay land. Sometimes a few acres (2 to 5) may be planted in potatoes, small grain, or corn, It would not be far wrong to say that at least 80 percent of grade A land is given over to hay. Both the 1930 and 1935 figures show about 25 percent of the total land area to be in crops. In 1935, of the 1,700-odd acres harvested, more than 1,500 acres were in hay.

Wheat and buckwheat were raised in quantity in the nineteenth century; buckwheat was farmed particularly as it had the effect of preparing the land for other crops and producing a feed at the same time.[20] Corn and rye were once much more important than they are now. No wheat is grown today and most Landaff farmers believe it does not pay to raise oats. The few who do raise oats usually have difficulty in harvesting since there are now only 3 binders in the township. So most of the farmers confine their attention chiefly to hay, grasses, or small grains which may be fed unthreshed.

Attempts have been made and probably will be made occasionally to plant a considerable acreage to potatoes, garden truck, or other crop for sale on the market. Such efforts have never succeeded because competition from other parts of the country is too great. Potatoes are still grown by almost every farmer, but few try to produce them to sell.

The crop patterns in Landaff may be summarized in the following way: (1) Not more than 20 or 25 percent of the land is in crops. (2) Probably well over 80 percent of the cropland is in hay: bluegrass, redtop, june grass, timothy, wild vetch, and some clover. And (3) of the remaining 15 or 20 percent of cropland, most of it is taken up by corn, potatoes, oats, or oats and barley mixed, in decreasing order of importance. More corn is grown for silage than is used for grain, while oats seem to be grown for grain rather than for forage. For example, in 1935, five farmers grew 19 acres of oats, all of which they threshed. One man grew three acres to feed unthreshed.

No mention has been made of legumes, alfalfa, or beans, for these crops are of slight importance in the community. One small field of alfalfa was being carefully tended in 1940 in the hopes that it would not be winter-killed as other alfalfa has been in the past. A few soja beans are grown, most of which are picked over and sold for seed. Home gardens include a great variety of vegetables. It does not appear likely that crops other than hay, corn, and small grains - with a heavy emphasis on hay - will ever be important among the crops here.

The place of livestock in this rural economy is basic. The cropping of the land is centered upon the feeding of the stock and is supplemented by pasturage. The livestock of the hill country is not, in general, of a particularly high quality. As early

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[20] See Torbert, E. N. "The Evolution of Land Utilization in Lebanon, New Hampshire" New York, 1935, for confirmation of this fact.

as the end of the last century progressive farmers were importing good milk cows, Jerseys mostly, in order to make efficient production possible. Today there are a number of fine herds in the hill towns (registered, purebred Ayrshires or Jerseys or Holsteins), but the average farm boasts no such valuable stock.

Nearly every farm has a good team of horses. Most farms in Landaff have some poultry. Hogs are found on only one-fourth of the farms. Steers, once numerous, have almost disappeared; perhaps there are a half-dozen of them in the township. One man has 20 to 30 sheep. It is from dairy stock that the farmer gets his chief money income.

The pasturing season is short, lasting only from May until September.[21] During this period the herd is brought in at night to be milked and fed, then turned out in the morning after being milked again. Their pasture is extensive, much of it in the woods, and the cattle go a considerable distance in the course of the day's grazing. Dry cows and young stock are pastured during the whole season or until there is reason to bring them in. Bulls are generally kept penned. In winter all are kept in the barn, and are fed, grained, and milked there.

In 1929, M. G. Eastman[22] found that the average number of cows per farm in the towns of Grafton County was 15.9 for 414 herds. Landaff was numbered among these towns, but almost all the rest were located along the Connecticut River where better land is available. The average herd in Landaff at present would be at least that large, but the average is rendered insignificant by the presence of an extreme case. One man in the community has more than 100 head of stock, probably 40 of which are milk cows. As there are only about 30 herds in the town, several of which are extremely small, this distorts any average.

Ten cows are considered the least that a farmer should have if he hopes to make his living by the sale of milk. Nevertheless there are a half dozen herds of 7 or 8 cows only; their owners cannot expand without going into debt. The four most "normal" farms (for the whole area) have 14 to 17 milkers each and a total of 20 to 30 head of cattle altogether, including young stock and a bull or two.

The dairy economy is probably as efficient a system of land utilization as could be applied to this rather difficult environment. It maintains the land at its normal level of productivity, enabling the farmer to return to it that which has been taken out. This is essential when soil is shallow and of inconsiderable fertility.

The land of this region has had uses other than agricultural in the past, and, to some extent, still has. In the late nineteenth century there were several attempts at mining, none of which was successful. Iron was taken from one mine for a time and gold was found in small quantities. Gravel pits have long been of great use to the town in supplying materials for road building. These assets are not impressive, but they have been important to the natives of the town at one time or another, and so deserve mention.

The forests have supplied a welcome addition to the scant incomes of the people. Lumbering gave employment to many young men and made possible the setting up of several

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[21] After the cattle have been brought in from the woodland pasture in September they are allowed to graze over the hay and other cropland for a few weeks.

[22] Eastman, M. G. "An Economic Study of Dairy Farming in New Hampshire." Ph. D. Thesis, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y., 1930.

small mills. From the hard maples, quantities of sap could be taken in spring and fall and boiled down to sugar or sirup. At one time there were a considerable number of spruce-oil distilleries in the vicinity, one of which was located in the town. The products of these stills were used for medicinal purposes.

Sugaring is one of the commonest and probably one of the least profitable aspects of land utilization in much of New England. It continues to exist because certain traditions have developed about it and because it is a pleasure to those concerned. Some farmers have equipped themselves with large, modern evaporators and other machinery with the intention of making a serious business of it, and, if carried out on a large scale, the enterprise can be made profitable. But for every large operator who makes a business of his sugaring, there are at least 50 or 100 who hang anywhere from 10 to 200 buckets; many of these make little or no money from their effort.

A ready market can be found for sirup so if the small operators do not actually make a profit they take in a certain amount of very welcome cash. The money involved would not keep the practice alive were it not that sirup is always wanted for home use and that, still more influential, the whole procedure takes on a recreational aspect. What was once a necessity has become a pastime. But the making of maple sugar is a tradition which is dying out.

It has been many years since the saw mills and bobbin mills of the town were in operation, but sugaring and lumbering are still important in the utilization of the land. The hurricane upset the lumbering situation by flooding the market with white pine and maple and by making it necessary for the farmer to put more than the usual time into clearing his woods. Once this surplus has been taken up the situation will probably become normal again, which will probably mean that each farmer who owns a woodlot – and all Landaff farmers do – will be able to cut such timber as he wishes to dispose of and sell it at a predetermined price. He may also supply himself with fuel and with building materials

Most farms are equipped with some kind of a power saw with which to cut up firewood or pulpwood; some have the machinery to cut their own planks or shingles. Every farmer in the hill towns is more or less of an expert in handling lumber, particularly those whose dairies are not large enough to claim their full attention in the winter. When there is a good snow fall the men can go into the woodlot with their teams and take out the logs on heavy sleighs, yarding them at a place where a truck can pick them up. In summer those few men who own tractors can carry on their work regardless of the weather and the condition of the ground.

In spite of criticisms by professional foresters and amateurs of nature lore, there seems to be little evidence to the layman that the lumber industry which once thrived in Landaff did any great damage to the forests. The second growth is healthy and may prove an important future asset. The sale of Christmas trees and greens has at times brought income, but in recent years there has been little of this trade.

As Landaff is dependent upon dairying, and as dairying in its present form is comparatively new, certain traditional standards found in places where long-established techniques are still used, are not found here. Still there are general concepts of good farming or poor farming, good or bad cattle, and of adequate or inadequate crops.

So far as actual farm work goes, general standards determine judgments as to whether a man is lazy or hard-working. An average 8-hour day throughout the year would not be considered sufficient. There is a strong feeling that fields should be well kept, that is, free from stones (up to a certain point), leveled all the way to the edges and, if in crops, neatly planted. Home gardens must be kept weeded and cultivated, and machinery should be brought under cover when not in use.

It might be assumed that the reason the average dairy cow in this region is not of very high quality is that the farmers cannot afford to buy better stock. But some of them, at least, do not believe that the purebred animals are more satisfactory. They believe that a "good" cow will produce about 40 pounds of milk while being milked (perhaps 3,000 pounds annually) and will test a little over 3.7. The reason for this low standard may be that previously when prices were higher than at present, it was possible to make a little money without going to the expense of buying fine stock. Local standards are, of course, determined by the qualities of things in the community, be it stock, soil, wealth, crops, or anything else. At present, a renewed effort is being made by certain men to improve their herds, so that at least the question of wellbred cattle versus scrubs is a matter of community interest. Probably this will result in raising the local standard. Yet some fairly progressive dairy farmers believe that the registered animal is not a greater milk producer than the ordinary grade.

This is not the place for an attempted analysis of the social factors that lie behind such norms as exist in the community. But it might be well to define briefly the more important standards relevant to agriculture.

They may be summarized as follows. An adequate farm should be purchasable for $5,000 or so, and $10,000 should buy a very good one. Cattle should run around $80 or $100 a head, need be of no particular breed, but ought to give 40 pounds or so of milk. A high output of milk per day would be around four cans, and a reasonable price might be 5 cents a quart. A good bull might well be a purebred animal. A good yield of hay would be a ton and a half to the acre, and to be of good quality it must be free from weeds, must be clean, and cut when still young. A big field might contain 30 to 50 acres, and a big farm would run 200 or 300 acres with a large proportion in forest.

A good assortment of farm machinery would include a walking plow, a sulky plow, a horse rake (possibly side delivery), various harrows, a corn planter, a hay fork (in the barn), several sleighs and carts and stoneboats, a truck, a seeder, a manure spreader, a power engine, a milking machine, a cooler, a separator, and an ensilage cutter. Binders, pasteurizers, power sprays, hayloaders, bottlers, and tractors would be found only on unusually well-equipped farms. The smallest farms in Landaff sometimes have no more than a plow (walking type), an old-model horse rake, one or two harrows, a mowing machine, and a few hand tools. In these matters, as in so many others, there is no fixed norm. No two farmers would agree completely on just what a farm should have in the way of equipment.

The hill farmers are still almost entirely dependent upon horsepower for their harvesting and plowing – in fact, for any work other than hauling over the roads. Some men own large tracts of land, part of it sufficiently level to warrant the use of tractors, but each also owns a team of horses which cannot be dispensed with. Slope alone is not responsible for the difficulty of tractor work on the fields; shallowness and the presence of many stones may make even the smoother tracts impossible to till with anything but horses.

Even though tractors are few (4 tractors on 3 farms), other power-driven machinery is common, especially engines used in cutting up firewood. About half the farms have electricity, 2 of them having plants of their own. Most of the larger dairies have electric compressors and milking machines, and electric tools such as drills, emory wheels, and small saws, but most power tools are run from a gasoline engine.

The 1930 census reports the average value of farm implements as $615. At present, with a great deal of new milk-handling equipment in use, this figure must be considerably larger.

It is evident, then, that any extensive mechanization is extremely uncommon on these farms. Hand labor is constantly needed no matter what the work may be. Haying, for instance, is done with mowing machines and horse rakes, but loading is done by hand and there are many rough spots that must be scythed in almost every field. Lumbering requires choppers and sugaring calls for a great deal of carrying by hand. Potatoes and corn are not picked machanically because they are no longer planted in very large quantities.

There is no resistance on the part of the farmer to using machinery and engine power whenever possible. If manual labor is still basic to the local agriculture, it is because the soil and the topography as well as the small acreages in each crop do not, at least as yet, make fuller mechanization possible.

In a country where most tillage is in mowing, it is unnecessary to break the sod more than once in several years. Each farmer plows his land when it seems to him that the yields are dropping off rather than at any particular time. The actual method of plowing varies from one farm to another and from one field to the next because of the great variety and complexity of soil types. The limited use of tractors, is partly due to the difficult terrain. On most farms sulky or walking plows are used; in the latter case two men work together, occasionally stopping the plow to remove large rocks that make regular furrows impossible.

On almost all farms some plowing must be done in the spring. The home garden must be made ready and any land intended for corn or small grain must be plowed and disked. If hay land is to be plowed it may be done in the fall or late summer. Contour plowing is not considered necessary, though one or two men follow this principle when it is convenient.

Most planting is done by hand, though certain operators "trade work" with the few farmers who own planters so that the job can be done more quickly. Only a moderate amount of planting is done, since potatoes and small grains are not main crops.

Horse-drawn cultivators are to be found on practically all farms. The moist climate makes for a quick growth of weeds which must be kept in check, so this machine makes up for its cost by its labor-saving qualities, even to the small operator who has only a few acres upon which it can be used. Home gardens are rarely large enough to warrant machine cultivation and are kept free of weeds and hard topsoil with the use of a hand cultivator.

The hay crop brings the important harvest. The customary horse-drawn mowers and rakes are used. A few farmers have tedders, side-delivery rakes, and loaders. Most farmers agree that such labor-saving machinery speeds up the process, but the initial expense is a deterrent. So long as the work can be done in a reasonable length of time with whatever help the farmer can obtain, there is no particular incentive for buying more efficient machinery.

Once the hay is cut and cured it is loaded and stored as quickly as possible, a wagon or truck being used, depending chiefly upon the terrain. On the whole the equipment is not modern, and few farmers use machine forks for unloading.

Oats are handled with binders when they are not simply cut for green feed. There are only three oats binders in the town, but of these one is used on two farms. Threshing is done in the barn when the oats are thoroughly dry, and the grain is stored in rat-proof bins whence it can be taken for grinding at any time. Not all of it is ground, for some is fed whole.

There are two corn binders in the community, but most farmers do their work by hand, storing the dry ears in a crib, running the whole plant through an ensilage cutter or feeding the green plants. Variation in the treatment of stock corn is considerable, so that the time and manner of the corn harvest is not the same on all farms. Only a small quantity is dried and stored for seed - 200 or 300 bushels in the entire town.

The harvesting of fruit, green vegetables, and potatoes is of minor importance and is done entirely by hand.

Where a farmer's income derives from the sale of milk and hence comes to him the year 'round, harvest time is of far less significance than in wheat, corn, cotton, or tobacco country. Harvesting occurs all during the summer, beginning with the cutting of the first crop of hay and ending with the gathering of certain fruits and vegetables.

Certain aspects of livestock practice have been discussed. There is the usual seasonal variation in feeding, pasturing for a few months, and the long months of barn feeding and care. The order of feeding, milking, cleaning, etc., varies from farm to farm. The treatment of milk is fixed by the standards set down by the food laws and the buyers. One recent regulation is that the evening milk must be cooled to at least 50° before it will be accepted at the milk station. The usual practice is to deliver the milk at the station around 9 o'clock in the morning. Here it is weighed, tested, and credited to the operator. Cans are washed and steamed mechanically and returned in a few minutes.

Considerable variation in the quality and perpetuation of the dairy herds has been noted. One man has a herd which he himself raised, and as his original stock was none too good, his cows are of a poor grade. Another man buys and trades continually, attending almost every cattle auction within a considerable radius. He raises only his best heifers and sells them as replacements. Thus, by buying good stock, he improves his milk output and also breeds better calves to sell. On the whole, it might be said that the practice of raising replacements, one to which the country is well suited and which the men of the State Experiment Station have been urging, is not so common as it might be.

Most of the cows in this section are of Holstein derivation. Of the small percentage of registered stock, almost all are Ayrshires or Jerseys. The common belief is that the Holstein grade will produce more than poor-quality Guernseys or Jerseys. Those who wish to develop quality herds, on the other hand, are concerned with the test of their milk because of the effect this will have on the sale of their registered heifers.

In short, there are two general practices based upon two different purposes. One is to sell milk regardless of anything else, and to produce this milk with as little expense as possible. Farmers with this in mind make little effort to produce calves for sale or to improve the quality of their stock. The other practice is not only to sell milk, but to make a real business of the sale of replacements. As the price of a heifer is largely determined by the qualities of its dam, the breeding and butterfat test of the whole herd is important. Every farmer understands that his stock should be mixed, that new blood should be introduced, but not all agree that this new blood need be that of purebred animals.

Scientific conservation of the soil and its resources is new in the hill country and is not practiced by all operators, but the farmers have long understood that soil must be fertilized and forest land be left partly timbered if productivity is to be retained. The farming soils in Landaff are best associated with livestock. On farms of considerable size, whose herds have dwindled, pasture land and tillage have lost their fertility and will never again be worth planting or harvesting unless quantities of manure or chemicals are applied. Every large farm in the township has at least one manure spreader. On the smaller ones the spreading is done by hand from a wagon. Manure is often piled on the snow here and there over the fields at the end of winter and spread out as soon as the land is solid enough to permit further handling. Other applications are sometimes given in the late fall or whenever the operator chooses to do the work.

At present, the Agricultural Conservation Program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has made possible the purchase of superphosphate and lime at low cost, and most farmers have taken advantage of the program. The phosphate is mixed with the manure in the gutters, as a rule, but is occasionally sowed on the field or pasture by hand. Lime is generally spread by hand from a wagon, though certain of the largest farms are equipped with lime sowers. The lime, like phosphate and manure, is applied in the early spring or upon newly-plowed land at any time.

Crop rotation is almost nonexistent as so much of the tillage is devoted to raising hay. At one time buckwheat was used as a first crop after breaking the land, but almost none is planted now. Soiling crops are uncommon. The principles of crop rotation are understood, at least by the older informants who said that earlier a certain rotation was practiced.

So far as the soil is concerned, conservation of fertility is the only serious problem. Moisture is generally sufficient and there is no serious erosion. Land whose fertility has run low neither washes nor blows away; it reverts to brush and forest.

There has been little conscious practice of forest conservation other than the leaving of small trees on timbered land. In recent years the 4-H Club and other organizations have been urging the planting of trees and have had some success. In

1940 a considerable number of seedling pines were set out, and there is one small stand of trees set out by one family 13 years ago. It is certain, in any case, that the forests will not be subject to any kind of extensive exploitation for some years, at least till the present stands are more fully grown.

The daily round of life varies from one farm to another, even as to times of eating and getting up in the morning. It also varies from winter to summer in the same families. On one of the larger farms a typical winter's day might run as follows: At 5:30 the wife gets up and starts breakfast while her son and husband go to the barn to milk. Breakfast is at 7 o'clock, after which the men return to the barn to feed the stock and clean out the stables. One drives to the station with the milk, then comes back to the barn to go on with the work which will keep both busy until about 11 o'clock. Before dinner one of a dozen odd jobs might be done and some wood is carried from the shed to the kitchen.

Dinner is at noon. Shortly afterward, the men go out and work on the buildings or on some broken tool or machine. Later if there is time, one does some of the heavy work in the house. The milking is done just before supper, which is at 5:30; after supper the cattle are given hay again and the stables are cleaned. By 8 o'clock the work is finished unless some harness needs repairing or there is bookkeeping to be done.

In summer the rising hour is earlier, and the cows are grained, milked, and turned out to pasture. During the morning, after the milk has been taken to the village, there is plowing to be done or manure to be spread. Later in the season the garden needs hoeing and the hay is cut or carried to the barn as time and circumstance dictate. If the haying is over and there is no cultivating to do, the ever-present odd jobs will take up the time of the farmer and the son. In the evening the cows come in and are milked after supper, but the barn need not be cleaned again; this leaves part of the evening for whatever work there is to be done.

On another farm the winter rising hour is 5 o'clock, for the man has no helper and will need all morning to do his stable work. A neighbor stops by to carry his milk to the station (at 10¢ a can) so he finishes most of his regular work in the barn by dinner time. He does no lumbering this winter (1940) to speak of, but works on the road with his truck when the occasion arises. He must put in a good deal of the winter day repairing his buildings and machines, but he never makes new tools or equipment, finding it easier to buy them (as most men do). His supper is at 5 o'clock, after which he milks again and cleans the stable for the night.

In the spring he gets up at 4:30, does his regular barn work, and then gets out on his land with the manure spreader or the disk harrow, working with his tractor. Until summer is well on and the haying is about to begin, he will be on the land most of the day and even for an hour or two after sundown. If the work is too pressing he hires one of the town's day laborers for a week or a month, depending on how things go.

Another man differs from these two in that he has his supper at 4 o'clock and does all his barn work afterwards, except for the feeding of hay which he does at 3:30. His rising hour is 4:30 or earlier, and his hours away from the barn are spent on the harrow or spreader.

The particular time-division of these three men and of all the other farmers in the town may vary but the same routine is closely followed day after day. The

differences between the daily cycle on one farm and on the next are caused often enough by different situations: a greater or smaller number of cows, a son or hired man or no one to help do the work, much or little work to be done in the woodlot, etc. Then there is the matter of individual preference and opinion and the strong desire that every North-Country farmer has to do his own work in his own way.

Seasonal variations may be summarized briefly to show the nature of the annual cycles: Winter is a time of repairing, preparing, lumbering (that is, any work in the woodlot from cutting firewood to yarding logs), and the regular work of the dairy. In this season hours are a little shorter and a greater proportion of the work can be done in the house, shed, or barn. No work of any kind can be done on the land other than the cutting of trees and sawing of logs at the woodlot. There is more time in which to read agricultural pamphlets and to plan ahead than at other times of the year. For the two men in town whose milk business is retail, there is time to be spent enlarging the route or finding new trade, for neither of them is concerned with work in the woods beyond that necessary to keep the family supplied with fuel during the cold weather.

Spring means a sudden surge of activity on every farm, mostly having to do with the preparation of the land for the summer. By early June the spring plowing is done and most of the manure and lime to be put out is on the land. Gardens are prepared but not yet planted, and the cows are put out to pasture. The working day is longer though there is less to do in the barn.

In the haying season all work other than that directly connected with the milking and feeding of the stock is put aside and every available hour is spent in mowing and storing the crop. On some farms a week will suffice to get all the hay in; on others considerably more time is needed. Extra labor is not available since each man must cut his hay pretty much when his neighbor does, so that there is a great deal of work to be done by everyone.

After the haying there is other work in connection with the oats crop, if there is one, and the corn. The housewife is particularly busy with the home garden which is largely her concern, though the men help care for it. When the garden produce is ripe, enough must be canned to last the family all winter; when that is done there are berries to be picked and fruit to be bought and canned.

As the fall passes the harvest is done and the fields need further attention before winter comes, though of a less important nature than the spring fertilizing. There may be more plowing or clearing to do, or fences and walls to repair, or work in the woods may begin again and the barn must be made ready for the cattle soon to be brought in for the long winter. This means that the water system must be checked, stanchions repaired, and the flooring and gutters mended. Winter finds the farmer settling down to a slower pace once more, building, repairing, and planning.

For the most part, then, the dairy work sets the diurnal and seasonal tempo, but there is carpentry and mechanical work to be done. These farms, despite their dependence on dairying, produce much of what they need and the operators are slow to call in craftsmen to deal with problems that come up. A Yankee farmer is a jack-of-all-trades—a plumber, an electrician, and a mechanic—as well as a farmer.

COMMERCIALIZATION AND SELF-SUFFICIENCY

The rural-farm population of Landaff township constitutes about one-half of the total, though not all of these people are engaged in commercial agriculture. A number are self-sufficient. Moreover, there are many floaters and nonfarm laborers who do considerable gardening. A fraction of the floaters depend entirely on money wages, and do no farming.

There is no doubt that the values and sanctions surrounding farming as a way of life are weakening and disappearing in this community. This is not difficult to understand since many of them are sons or daughters of farm people who failed to make a living in agriculture. A number of these people have no real employment and simply live as best they can from day to day and from year to year. Yet to those who have found employment of any kind, in the lumber business, on the railroad, or in the summer hotels, the way of life connected with the farm seems unenviable, involving long hours of work and small returns.

Real and widespread though the above attitude may be, there are still individuals and families to whom farming as a way of life is of basic importance. Among those who may truly be called farmers – men who make their living almost entirely from the land – a few openly express dissatisfaction with the mode of life which they, as farmers, must follow. What one is more likely to hear from the farm people is that "there's no money in dairying, except what you put into it," or "the time's gone when a man could make a dollar in this country." These attitudes may in some instances go hand-in-hand with a deep belief in and affection for farm life.

All of these farmers whose income derives from the farm and whose operations are even moderately extensive are carrying on their business as a commercial enterprise, yet it was agriculture as a way of life that kept most of them in the hills. During World War I and during the years just before and after it, certain men in this area turned to farming in order to make money. But even at that time depopulation had been going on and it was evident that farming would never make a man rich. Since then, only a few new farms have been established in the community and only a few new people have taken up farming. At present, there are only two young men in town who wish to stay on as farmers, and both have made this choice because they think that city life or work under the direction of other men would be intolerable. Both will commercialize their farms as much as possible because it is by this means alone that they will be able to make a living.

The situation might be summarized as follows: (1) There is no incentive for any man to go into farming unless the way of life has a deep appeal for him, as it has for almost all the men now farming in the community. (2) The attraction of the outside world is so great and the prospects of making a comfortable living on the hill farms so meager that only those remain to whom farm life is something of deeper importance than money-making. (3) Yet every farm must, be operated as a commercial enterprise if it is to be kept going.

The entire history of the Landaff community has revolved around farming. The community life and the farm life are closely related and without the latter the former could not exist. Later, in a consideration of the community as such, it will be seen that the nonfarm people take almost no part in the social life of the community and

that many belong to the town only in that they are resident in it. The things that are important to Landaff, that are characteristic and typical of it are things that have to do with the life of people on the land.

The extent of commercialization varies from farm to farm with the size of the herd and the dependence of the operator on nonfarm sources. In Landaff there are a number of small farms whose owners have a little money from a pension or an insurance policy, where commercialization is almost nil. Such places might have 10 to 50 acres of land, 1 to 3 cows, a good-sized home garden and potato patch and perhaps a number of fruit trees and berry bushes. Careful living and an almost complete confinement to the place make possible a scant but fairly secure livelihood. However, these people require money and every such operator has other sources of cash, be they from garden produce, work on the roads, or other labor. It must be noted that according to the 1935 agricultural census 61 percent of the farm operators received some sort of income from sources not connected with their farms.

While these small part-time farms are not common, they are scattered over the entire area. Moreover, there are some few small farms largely dependent on the production of cream rather than milk, and upon what can be raised at home. These farmers also often supplement their incomes from the sale of firewood, pulp wood, or other timber.

In the Landaff community itself (excluding "the Acre") there are 3 men who work in the Lisbon lumber mill; 2 of these, have small but real farms, which can produce a large part of the required food and even a little money from sales of minor surpluses. One other man works for the local movie theater as a projector operator and manages a 30-acre farm. His employment is sporadic, so that he can devote a larger part of his time to farming than can the others. These 3 are the only individuals in town who are employed in industry or business and who farm as well.

A little has been said about the men who operate small farms and yet depend upon wages for outside labor for some of their income. Most of these men are farm people in that their farms supply them with the greater part of their living, but, as farming cannot support them they are to be distinguished from the large operators. At present, they are not directly concerned with business or industry. Most of their supplementary income derived from road work is financed by the State or the town, or from lumbering, which has become a more common part-time job for such people lately because of the hurricane. Until this spring they could cut cord wood for other men at so much per cord so that their employers could sell it to a mill, or, if they owned timberland themselves, they could cut and sell their own.

The most typical farms are those of the regular milk shippers. Some of them make some money from selling replacements, but on the whole the dairy income is likely to supply the total farm income. A good-sized herd requires so much attention that the operator has no time for extra cash crops, though surpluses of any kind, such as eggs, poultry, and vegetables, are disposed of in local stores or among the neighbors. Lumbering in a small way is often, but not invariably, associated with these dairies and, in normal times, is an added source of income. Other cash crops are insignificant, in the total picture, and are extremely variable. One farmer sells a little honey; a few make a little sirup every year; others produce limited quantities of fruit for the market. As every hill farm is to some extent self-sufficient and hence produces a

variety of commodities, there are always small surpluses to be sold or traded. This situation has existed ever since the town was founded. Hence, even in the days of almost complete self-sufficiency there was a mixed commercial agriculture on a small scale. But the sale of produce other than those from the dairy and the forest, comparatively unimportant in earliest years, is generally even less important today.

One other kind of farm is still to be seen in the hill country, though it can scarcely be called a type - those which still function much as they did many years ago, where the milk of a comparatively small herd is made into butter and cheese in the home and sold locally. One such place in Landaff is operated at a considerable loss, for the cheese business has been taken over largely by specialized concerns. Butter-making has been generally conceded to be less lucrative than the selling of whole milk, partly because of the competition of the western dairymen and partly because of widely-sold substitutes. This particular farm can continue to operate only as long as its owner is willing to supplement his income in other ways or to cut down the herd to 1 or 2 cows and farm on a subsistence basis.

Nearly every farm is commercialized to some extent and the great majority are dependent upon the sale of whole milk, but the way in which commercialization and self-sufficiency are associated on nearly every farm is highly variable and not easy to classify. So far we have been concerned primarily with the extent of commercialization, and, in connection with this, we have seen that self-sufficiency is still an important factor in the farm life. Let us examine more closely the extent and the details of this pattern.

Some production for home use is universal among the farm people and common among nonfarm families. Home gardens are the rule, though their size and their type of produce varies largely. Every farm wife puts up food in the autumn; some can and dry enough to keep the family supplied all through the winter with only small additional buying. Others confine themselves to certain canning and depend upon the stores for the rest. Some women buy fruits or vegetables and can them to avoid the additional expense of buying them already put up. Bread, yeast, vinegar, and soap are often made at home.

Home manufacture of tools, furniture, and certain other items is common as is the repairing of farm and household articles. Many farmers in Landaff possess tools, both general and special, the total value of which must have been more than $500. Shoes and harness are repaired in the evening hours, as are chair bottoms, clothes, quilts, and furniture. The few farmers who call in mechanics to work on their cars, trucks, or engines, are criticized as being none too competent.

Home manufacture is far less extensive than home repairing. For a man with a dairy to look after, the time required to make a chair or a spoke or an axe-handle may be worth more than the finished article. Such things are made by the poorer people whose time has little value except when they are employed by the day. They make a good deal of their own equipment for lumber work in the winter - horse-sleds, handles, single-trees or whiffle-trees. On one or two of the larger farms, shingles and small planks are made.

Home manufacture is carried on far more by women than by men. The amount they make and the skills they possess are determined by their origin and up-bringing. Wives of the larger farmers - most of whom are descended from old local families - are better

equipped to do work of this kind than are the nonfarm women. Some of the latter were brought up on farms, but apparently when leaving them they left behind the ways that went with farm life.

There is also considerable difference in skills between the young and the older women. Farm mothers teach their daughters to cook, sew, and knit; but, because most of the girls have no wish to become farmer's wives, they have little incentive to work hard at these things. Then there are only a few young women on the farms, so the farm versus nonfarm distinction is similar to that between young and old. To clarify this situation, let us outline work of this sort done by each of three women: (1) a farm girl, now married to a renter-laborer who does not farm; (2) a young woman whose husband is one of the very few farmers under 40; and (3) a woman of 60, wife of a large farmer whose family is one of the oldest in town. Skill in home manufacture might be used as a rough measure of the persistence of certain cultural patterns.

The laborer's wife knows how to sew and knit, but does them with no special skill. There are no children, and the small earning of the husband pays for cheap clothes at the village stores. The house she lives in is not theirs and she has no way of being sure that they will be in it for more than another year or two, so she has little interest in making curtains and rugs. Her husband, who makes a hobby of woodwork, may build a cabinet, but she does not paint it. She prepares her husband's meals and keeps the house clean. Beyond that she feels no obligation or incentive as she has no feeling for her home or sense of stability and identification with the community.

The young farmer's wife often takes over the keeping of accounts, and makes a great effort to preserve all the food the family may need. She makes all her own pastry and cures the hams. But having these responsibilities and two small children to look after, she makes no articles for the house. Most of the children's clothes are bought because she feels that she does not have time to make them herself.

The older woman differs greatly from these two in that she does more than her share of cooking and preserving, and makes quantities of clothes – sweaters, dresses, socks, underclothes, mittens, and caps. She has made a few rugs and many quilts, bedspreads, and curtains. She has gradually re-caned all the chairs, and she has woven straw hats. She has no small children to care for, but she has the responsibility of seeing that a rather large family is fed and clothed. She has more energy and ability than most, but she is not unusual here. There are in town a number of farmers' wives, women between 45 and 70, who make clothes, rugs, and curtains as a matter of course. They are apparently the last generation to inherit the creative skills of the earlier residents and to have an interest in applying them. It is no criticism of the young girls to say that they do not have them, for the situation has changed. Farm life seems to have less to offer. Other and easier ways of life are described to them by the movies and the radio and exemplified by the village people and by the wealthy summer people.

The source of income for the farm people is most often the sale of whole milk; in some cases, the sale of cream only; occasionally the sale of fruit or garden truck; and very rarely the sale of butter and cheese. Income for the nonfarm people derives from forest, road, or farm work by the day, week, season, or year and work in the lumber mill. Then there are jobs in connection with summer-hotel business, and in various shops or minor businesses in the nearby village. A few live on savings supplemented in some instances by town and county aid.

At the time of this study there were 34 nonfarm families in the town. Of these 8 were laborers, 8 were old people doing little or no work, 5 worked in hotels or for summer people, 6 were mill workers, 3 had trades in the village, 2 were professional woodsmen from outside who lived in camps, and 2 were regularly dependent upon the town. The forms of employment for many of these people will continue to change, so that the figures are correct only for the spring of 1940.

Labor income varies from $15 to $25 a week without board, depending upon the kind of work and the employer. Seasonal work for summer people or summer hotels is more highly paid, while the mill wages depend upon the skill of the worker and the length of time he has been employed. The three who have trades (moving-picture-projector operator, electrician, and railroad man) earn the best salaries; the electrician makes $40 a week.

Only 2 of the 8 laborers have permanent work; they are employed by 2 farmers. The rest depend on work on the roads, in the woods, or on the farms; most of them have home gardens.

At least 7 families operate small farms but do road or forest work at irregular intervals to get more money. Their total incomes are impossible to ascertain, for they keep no books as to hours spent and wages received. It is not unusual for the larger farmers to do road work with their trucks on occasion, but for them it is only a side-line.

The incomes of the 38 farm families vary between $8,000 and $500 or $600. The average income from milk alone on the farms that shipped milk would be around $1,500 or more, with herds ranging between 4 and 40 cows. Two farmers have a retail milk business that nets from $3,000 to $5,000 annually.

As many of the operators do not keep accurate books, it is difficult to learn the exact relation of farm expense to farm receipts. The concensus of our informants was that while expenses varied from year to year, about two-thirds of an average yearly income – about $1,500 – would be required to meet expenses. One man who milks 28 cows and raises his own oats and barley figured that he would net about $1,100 on milk, and another man with 20 head who buys all his grain said his income of nearly $900 was derived chiefly from milk. Most agreed that with only 5 or 6 cows the profits could never cover the amount of labor involved, but that 10 fairly good cows – not purebred, but good producers – would insure a living to a small family if the operator knew his business and was willing to live simply. On such a farm the labor income plus the equivalent savings from garden produce and a rent-free house would amount to between $500 and $600 (including the deduction of 5 percent interest on invested capital.) His livelihood would be assured, and even though he might earn less money than a farm laborer, his security and independence would be greater.

Farm receipts and expenses differ from farm to farm and, on the same farm, from year to year and season to season. The important points are these: (1) On the average dairy farm in Landaff milk worth about $1,500 is sold annually. (2) Between one-half and three-quarters of the receipts are paid out in expenses. (3) And labor earnings, that is, the labor incomes plus the value of privileges that accrue from home gardens and house, are less than the value of the operator's labor, judging this value by the wages received by farm hands.

Discussion of income among farm people has been confined to that brought in by milk sales. Each farm, however, generally takes in a little money by selling pulp, or a little garden truck, or young animals; and some income is derived from off-farm sources. A certain amount of money, for instance, goes to the larger farmers every year for their services to the town in their capacity as selectmen or other officials, but this is only a very small sum.

One other group in town consists of people from outside, not fully a part of the community except in terms of residence. Three are full-time residents, each with an adequate income from some source unrelated to the community. Four others own homes in town but live there only in summer, and these people have regular jobs outside with incomes ranging from less than $2,000 to more than $10,000.

Mortgages are not uncommon in the township, but only a few farms carry heavy obligations. The people of Landaff look askance at mortgages and every effort is made to avoid them. Pride and reticence made it difficult to obtain from the people themselves adequate data on extent of mortgages so we do not have complete information. Five out of 14 informants who are full owners have mortgages, of which 3 are well under half the value of real estate owned and 2 are more than half. Few of the nonfarm people have mortgages of any importance. The 1930 census shows that 39.8 percent of the full owners of Grafton County had mortgages averaging 38.7 percent of the total value of real estate, but these figures are not comparable with any that might be obtained in the Landaff community, since they include tradespeople and city dwellers. Presumably, the percentage of homes with mortgages would be lower and the average mortgage relative to total value somewhat higher in Landaff proper.

The use of credit is much more limited now than it was a decade or two ago. In the past, loans have been made by banks and by wealthier farmers, and cattle dealers would often extend credit to men of good reputation who wished to buy cattle. Personal loans are still made, but relatively infrequently. Recently the local banks have ceased to make loans. For operators who can meet the requirements and specifications, Government loans are available, but as shown later there is a vigorous feeling against the acceptance of such loans, and only 2 individuals in the town have taken advantage of Federal lending agencies.

Books are kept by only a few of the larger farmers. Two men who operate on a large scale and who sell stock as well as milk keep accurate records in detail. Both are interested in trying out new ways and in improving their methods of production, and as they buy and sell on a large scale, bookkeeping is indispensable.

General records showing milk receipts and payments for grain are kept by nearly every farmer who sells milk in any quantity, though in one case the "book" is no more than a spike in the barn wall upon which slips are impaled in the order of their coming. But the average milk shipper does not go beyond these simple records and calculations. Overhead and return on investment and labor returns from crops produced at home are rarely computed. Probably this is because the average shipper farms one year much as he farmed before and feels that he does not need a record against which to check new ideas or practices. If he has succeeded in getting through every year safely for the past 10 years, he assumes that the next one will not differ much except for fluctuation in milk receipts, which he considers inescapable and uncontrollable. More significant than the lack of accurate cost-accounting data is the fact that bookkeeping has never

Become a *value* and *practice* among these people. Later, in discussing attitudes and value-systems, it will be shown that there are strong feelings against "farming on paper" particularly with regard to attempts to predict by computation future gains or losses.

The small farmers who ship or otherwise dispose of their can or two of milk generally keep no books and those who sell none have practically no occasion to keep them. One exception to this general rule is a young man who intends to operate a sizable farm in time, and who, thinking that bookkeeping is important, keeps accounts on his present small activities by way of training for the future.

Pamphlets issued by the State agencies and by the Government on occasion find their way into the farm homes. They are in greater demand among the larger operators than the others, but even small farmers occasionally send away for information on certain specific problems. It is in this way that much of the new information reaches the farmers, for men who do not regularly subscribe to technical bulletins as a matter of course are quick to refer to them for information about immediate problems. Apparently more information comes to the farmer in this way than orally from the county agent.

The same two large operators who keep detailed accounts make considerable use of bulletins from the State Agricultural Experiment Station. They take the *New England Homestead* and other papers of that nature, that carry news and advertisements as well as technical advice and information. Such papers are generally of regional origin, though one farmer has subscribed to a Wisconsin paper in order to learn something about successful dairy practices elsewhere.

Small farmers show the least interest in farm publications. Many feel that even the small expense involved in subscriptions is money wasted. Others say that they have not the money to make suggested changes or additions, that circumstances force them to continue their old ways.

Some information comes direct to the farmers from the County Agent, who occasionally calls meetings in the town itself. Such meetings are well attended, even by those who never use printed information. The office of the County Agent is about 10 miles away yet seldom does a farmer go there to talk with him. It is not unusual, however, for a farmer to write to this office asking that certain information be sent him, and the help that the agent readily gives is appreciated by everyone.

Information about the Agricultural Conservation Program is made available to all through the farmer-elected AAA committee chairman, himself a farmer and lifelong resident. It is his job to administer the program locally and to explain the program and its regulations to any who wish information. Other governmental programs are of no particular importance in Landaff, and information about them is neither requested nor given.

In general, the farm people are not overly concerned with receiving advice from agricultural experts. Every man admits the value of the research carried out by the State Experiment Station and by the Federal Department of Agriculture because such research makes information available should a man have need of it, but, on the whole, they are not interested in new ways and practices as such. Only with reference to specific problems do they seek aid.

Under self-sufficiency, hired labor was rare. Each operator and his family could take care of their own needs without help, and money for hiring was scarce. Even road work was done by the residents as a means of working off taxes, and so was not a source of income to laborers. There have always been some men who earned their living by working for others. Since the early years a few men have owned large tracts of land and operated factories. But the number of men so employed was extremely small. Older residents tell of a few laborers who lived by doing odd jobs for several people rather than by working for a single employer.

When the sheep industry developed and when the farms began to expand in size, laborers were in greater demand and the increased commercialization provided money for paying wages. Formerly most farm laborers were farm boys trying to get experience and to save money with which to start farming. Wages were small, but a surplus of young men was always available. One man tells of having worked for a month for board, lodging, and a none-too-valuable watch which was given him by his employer.

When the lumber business brought in considerable outside labor these men were not hired by the farmers. However, more intensive cutting on the farms gave part-time work to the local youth at certain seasons. The laborers of the time were willing to work for what the farmer could pay, often doing a long day's work for a dollar and lunch.

By the time of World War I the dairies were well under way and there were more herds in the town than there were in 1940. At that time the exodus of youth had not become so marked as it has been since. But as the outward flow of youth continued, labor became scarcer; young men who did not wish to become farmers had little interest in working farmers' hours at farmers' pay. State road work and Government employment in the vicinity paid much more than the farm operators, making it doubly hard for the latter to obtain the necessary labor. In time, farms grew fewer, but the decrease in the demand for labor was never enough to counterbalance the decrease in the supply of workers.

The role of the hired hand in this community cannot be defined in type form. It varies with the individual, his skills, his ability, his place of residence, and his personality. Each works occasionally for farmers and only the two regular hired hands are wholly dependent on the farmers. The laborer, in other words, has no well-defined place in the life of the town because, although the farmers as a whole require the presence of several day laborers, the individual worker can look to no one source for regular work. So these people feel little relation with the community and are quick to leave if opportunity seems to be greater elsewhere. Those who have remained in the community have done so for particular reasons. Of the 6 not regularly employed, all but 2, generally considered to be shiftless, are too old to expect employment elsewhere. The older men know that when they are too old to work they can go on local relief, which would not be true if they went elsewhere.

Before the coming of the railroad in the middle of the last century, the stage-coach was the only regular means of transportation, and, with the exception of a local newspaper, the only communication device as well. There was a good deal of long-distance horse-back riding. Operators of back-country farms would ride into one of the river towns over regular bridle paths (if there were no roads) to learn the news or to send for a few essentials. But travel away from home was far from common, for time could not be found for even short trips.

By 1900 the stages had long since disappeared and the railroad had developed most of the branch lines now in use. Mail was reasonably fast, and there were a few telephones. Newspapers came in from the cities to the south. Roads were no more extensive than they had been in the back country, where the peak of development was around 1860; but highways had been improved and travel by buggy or chaise was simplified.

At present, there are many more devices of both communication and transportation, but the small extent to which they are used seems to reflect the self-sufficient past of the North Country. More houses in Landaff have telephones than have electricity; all the larger farmers and some of the small ones own trucks and automobiles. Cars are numerous; not only farmers but woodsmen and workers use them constantly. A considerable number of farm homes take a local and a metropolitan newspaper, and a smaller number receive technical agricultural bulletins. Radios are found in homes that have neither telephone nor electricity. Motion pictures are shown in Lisbon, less than 3 miles from Landaff.

It is not so much the presence of these things as their relative importance in the community which is significant. The truck, for instance, is most important, for no dairyman thinks he can operate without one. Actually, a few small operators do send their milk to the station by neighbors, but for this they pay a small fee. Where several cans of milk are prepared each day, that is not profitable. Grain, which is almost all bought in the village, can be had at a lower price if the farmer calls for it; and even his own hay can be handled more quickly on certain fields with trucks than with teams. In another sense, too, the truck is important to these farmers for their milk, once carried to Boston on special milk trains, is now handled by the New England Dairies who use large trucks exclusively.

If automobiles are commonplace, it is because they are considered to be worth their cost in convenience and pleasure. In a strict utilitarian sense they are perhaps not so essential as trucks. Certain business is done by car; auctions and meetings are attended and business more quickly carried out, but they are usually not wholly necessary. The residents seldom travel long distances from home; but frequent trips within the locality run up considerable gasoline bills. To the nonfarm people cars are more than luxury items; they are used to get to work and to move about the country as necessity demands.

The presence of newspapers is important. Besides local papers for local news there may be papers from Boston and occasionally from New York. A certain number of the larger farmers subscribe to these papers because of an interest in the events of the world. It is not the market sheet and the price lists which concern the readers so much as headline news.

A rural-free-delivery system covers the township. The mails are important to everyone, particularly to those who live in the more remote places. They make possible quick and efficient transactions with the popular mail-order houses.

Radios, common as they are, serve no particular utilitarian purpose. Weather reports are listened to occasionally, but not with any great faith. Crop reports are rarely heard because this is not a crop-producing country. As far as the farm life as a whole is concerned, however, the radio is of great importance, for it provides an endless flow of free entertainment, relaxation, and release from boredom.

Telephones are found in a good many homes. There are three lines and every large farm but one has a telephone. A few of the nonfarm people also have phones, but the telephone is not a vital instrument of farm business. At times it is used as such, but in general it is chiefly a means of informal social intercourse.

Films rarely serve as a communication device here, for only a few young people are interested in them. Older farm people often go only once a year or so.

Landaff is a community which exists largely independently of commerce or industry as far as wages are concerned. It depends on the sale of pulp and lumber on a small scale for extra income, and to a slight degree for employment. Part-time or twilight farming is represented in the town by three operators only.

GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS TO AID AGRICULTURE

The reader has probably gathered that of all the Government programs now in existence, only the Agricultural Conservation Program is important in Landaff. When the ACP was initiated in 1936, 8 were enrolled in Landaff and, although none earned a large percentage of the total amount which complete performance would have brought, none failed to go through with part of the proposed practices.

In 1937 there were 12 members; in 1938, 16; in 1939, 25; and in 1940, 24. Most men who began in the earlier years of the program are still members. The present enrollment, though including less than half the owners of farms (as given in the census), includes about two-thirds of the families whose livelihood is gained primarily from their farms. All but one of the larger farmers belong; the exception is a man who has always adhered to the old ways and makes a fetish of avoiding change.

In this district the Agricultural Conservation Program means to the farmer the getting of inexpensive lime and triple phosphate from the Government, by way of the AAA office (which in Landaff is located at the county agent's office) and application of these materials to a certain acreage. If farmers wish, these materials may be furnished in lieu of the payments farmers earn by carrying out approved soil-conservation practices. The largest operator took a full carload of lime, which came to more than his share which meant that he would have to pay for the extra quantity or carry out some other practices recommended by the office. At the opposite extreme is a man, who, having got his lime from the AAA, neglected to use it. He now owes for it and will have to pay in cash.

The value of lime to the hay and pasture land has never been questioned by the natives. As far back as 1830 a newspaper in Haverhill carried advertisements for lime which seems to have been manufactured locally. Before the ACP existed, lime was occasionally bought by the farmers, but only the wealthier individuals could afford to lime adequately. Varying quantities of lime are required per acre, for the soils are highly variable. Presumably there is land in the valley which contains lime in a native state. In general, however, soils in this and other nearby hill towns are derived from gneiss or schist and are lime-free.

The value of phosphate is not so widely acknowledged. Some have claimed a decided increase in crops when the "super" was applied, but others have noted no improvement. It is reasonable to suppose that observation of the effects of this

chemical on the land has been none too accurate, but not all land of all types can be expected to benefit equally from the same treatment.

Most farmers have put both lime and phosphate on their hay and tillage land, and some have also put one or both on their pasture. But the difficulties of going on some of the pasture with a wagon is - to some - offset by the cheap pasture which can be had to supplement the usual grazing plots. There is not much incentive to improve the poorer pastures.

The ACP, then, is the greatest aid to agriculture to be found in Landaff. Though not every man approves of it, none denies that it enables the farmer to keep his land as it should be kept; and those who object to it on principle have accepted what the program had to offer.

Neither the Farm Security Administration nor the Farm Credit Administration is active in this particular town. Two individuals are operating under loans from FCA, but they do not wish their indebtedness to the Government to be known. There were apparently no FSA loans. It is significant that not one operator in town was certain of the difference between the two and that most had not heard of either by name, but only of "Government loans." Those who realized that there were two agencies simply grouped them together and considered both basically the same thing and one no better than the other.

The Soil Conservation Service is not represented in Grafton County. Some of the better-informed operators have heard of it, and think of it as much like ACP but concerned with preventing erosion and blowing rather than with maintaining fertility. They realize that the need of Southern and Western farmers for aid of this kind is much greater than their own, and that SCS is sometimes necessary.

The Rural Electrification Administration had not reached the community at the time the study was made, but it has since been introduced and accepted with enthusiasm by nearly everyone. The town had previously brought electricity in from the village of Lisbon, and, while only about one-half of the homes were wired, it was available to at least three-fourths of them and could easily have been brought to every home other than the half-dozen sporadically-occupied shacks.

The Works Progress Administration will be taken up more fully later for there are strong and important attitudes about it all through the North Country. Its effect upon Landaff is indirect; high WPA wages make laborers dissatisfied with farm wages and so put the farmers in a bad position. No WPA work is carried on in the town or nearby, though at one time a brush-gang was formed to clear the woods of hurricane debris, and was presumably paid by WPA funds. No individuals in the community get employment from this source as there is no such work in the vicinity. Some years ago a bridge was rebuilt in the town with WPA help, but it was a brief job and employed only a few people.

Everyone knows about the Civilian Conservation Corps, and attitudes toward it vary considerably. A few young men of the town have had occasion to work in the local camps. There is none in the immediate vicinity, though on occasion CCC boys have been put to work for short periods in the town, clearing roads or woods. But on the whole

the influence of the CCC is almost negligible in the town for it employs no member of the community at present and has never employed more than one or two; furthermore, the CCC does work which, Landaff considered to be not vital nor even particularly worth while.

The National Youth Administration is completely unknown to many of the local people. The organization has been active in the county for a while, but headquarters are far away and Landaff young people have never benefited to any extent. One young woman now resident in town had training and employment at this center before coming to her present home.

§

THE COMMUNITY: ORGANIZATION AND VALUES

SPATIAL PATTERNS

The North Country is not a well-defined area. Its southern boundary, in New Hampshire, runs east and west through the town of Wentworth, and the northern boundary is represented by the upper limits of Coos County. Across the Connecticut River in Vermont the name still applies, but the country to the east, the more level land of Maine, is quite different. The North Country, then, is a large and varied area including hill towns and valley towns, farms and factories, industrial and business centers. If the scope is narrowed to northern Grafton County, most of these things are still found, although the towns and factories are scarcer. It is largely a farming and lumbering section.

The main geographic features of this central part of the area are the Connecticut River and the White Mountains. The river marks the western boundary line of Grafton County and of the State. Along it lie nine townships. East of them there is another tier of townships, 8 or 10 miles back in the hills; and among these is Landaff. Still further east the mountains are high and rugged and the townships are little more than geographic tracts containing a few scattered houses and several tourist resorts. In the southeastern corner of the county are many lakes with their summer colonies and denser population, but this is not really considered a part of the North Country.

The Landaff township is probably as typical of the area as any could be, though it is smaller than many and no longer has factories of its own. It is more isolated than the valley towns, but is far less so than certain other hill communities. Farming in Landaff is representative for all but the meadow farms – the latter constitute a minority even in the towns bordering the river. The old Yankee families of Landaff are themselves characteristic of the area and their traditions are those of the North Country itself.

Like other townships in this area, Landaff has its own particular characteristics, yet it is a fair sample of other localities and, for the most part, the problems and values of the other hill towns are similar to those of Landaff.

A glance at figure 5 will show the reader how thoroughly scattered are the households of Landaff. In times past this diffusion was even more marked; for example, in 1860, two neighborhoods existed in the more remote parts of the township. Both have now vanished, and the roads leading to them are no longer passable.

Steady abandonment and retrenchment have confined the farms of the township to two valleys: one large, containing most of the homes, in which farms are situated on the slopes and knolls and nonfarm homes in the hollows and along the hard-surfaced roads; the other a small, connecting valley in which there are a half-dozen places.

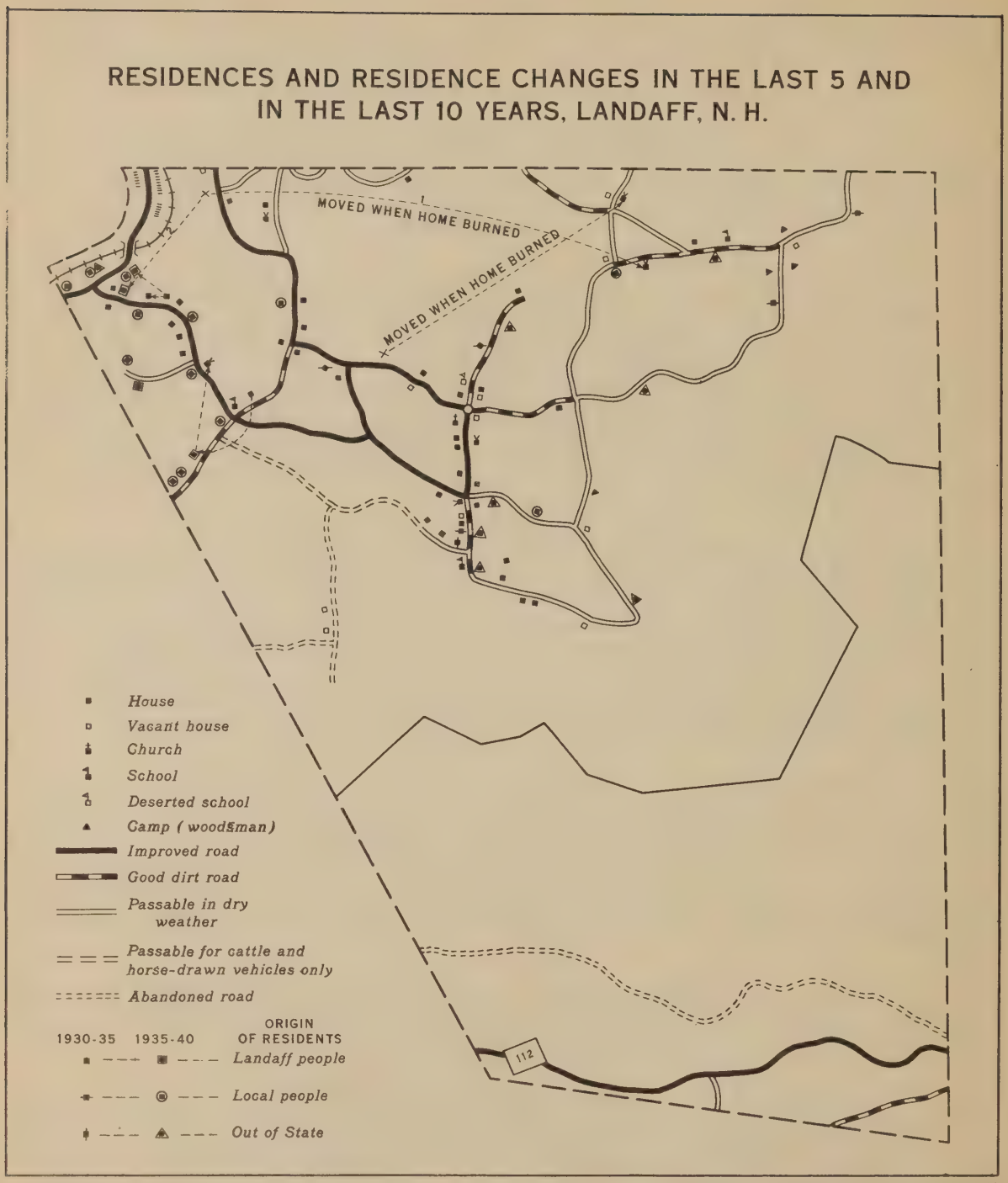
RESIDENCES AND RESIDENCE CHANGES IN THE LAST 5 AND IN THE LAST 10 YEARS, LANDAFF, N. H.
MOVED WHEN HOME BURNED
MOVED WHEN HOME BURNED
House
Vacant house
Church
School
Deserted school
Camp (woodsman)
Improved road
Good dirt road
Passable in dry weather
Passable for cattle and horse-drawn vehicles only
Abandoned road
ORIGIN OF RESIDENTS
1930-35
1935-40
Landaff people
Local people
Out of State
112
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. 39504
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 5

The location of Landaff center - determined by the early settlers - is well up the side of the valley on a shoulder of land of such contour that only a few houses could possibly have been built nearby. The charter of Landaff, like those of the other towns in the area, specified that a piece of land be laid out as near as possible to the center of the town where 1-acre lots were to be marked off. Possibly such lots were designated at an earlier period, but if so they were soon bought up by one or two men. Had there been shops and offices in the town, a sort of Main Street would have been set up as it was in other places but this town never had more than one store, and the post office (while it existed) shared the same small building.

The center of the community consists of a small church, a town building, a schoolhouse (no longer in use), and four houses, two of which are semideserted and in bad repair. Six or seven other houses lie within a half-mile north or south of the center, and few homes in the community are more than 3 miles away.

In this community, the distribution of people on the land is determined by the topography, by their occupation, and by a general need for better communication and transportation. Within the comparatively small part of the township which is capable of supporting commercialized dairy farming, the farmers must live well up out of the moist and scrubby bottom land. The nonfarm people might live anywhere in the town, but most of the houses they buy or rent are located on cheap land that the farmers did not want. As a rule these lie along the better roads, for these people often work away from their homes and require good facilities for travel. Small farmers who do not ship milk are scattered throughout the town. They can live along the poorer roads because they rarely have occasion to use them. The few summer people have preserved homes that would otherwise have fallen into disrepair, for as a rule these places are on land not worth farming and whose location is too remote for the laborers and mill-hands. The most significant features of the distribution of people on the land may be summarized as follows:

(1) Remote districts have been totally abandoned.

(2) The better farms remaining are still active and comprise more land per unit than they once did.

(3) Most of these farms are situated upon the valley sides where drainage is good and land not too steep; also, most are located on the most traveled roads.

(4) Small, subsistence-type farms are scattered about in the township, but only these and the homes of summer people are located on the poorer land and along the back roads.

(5) Nonfarm people generally live in small houses on the hard-surfaced roads. Because the superior hillside land is in farms, these people live on the low ground of the valley.

While Landaff is a community according to any reasonable definition, it is in no sense an organized village. The relationship between it and Lisbon, the small town on the railroad 3 miles from Landaff Center, is most important. All local buying and other business activities must be carried on in Lisbon or in more distant towns. The people of Landaff have their accounts in the Lisbon Bank, and they turn for professional services to doctors and lawyers, in Lisbon. The Lisbon post office handles all of the community mail and the milk from Landaff is shipped to Boston through this trading center.

Figure 6.- *Typical large farm in Landaff.*

Figure 7.- *Temporary dwelling of part-time farmer.*

All the people in the town have many acquaintances in Lisbon. The nonfarm people get most of their employment from the businessmen and merchants there, and so are dependent upon it. This gives rise to a peculiar situation. Certain Landaff residents, other than the mill workers in "the Acre" who belong in Lisbon any way, may be considered members of the village community, and not of the place in which they live. Yet, a good number of these people, laborers and laborer-farmers, take no part in the life of either community as such, having no interest in organizations and joint activities. Their position is insecure at best, so that they have no occasion to identify themselves with Landaff, where they live, or with Lisbon, where they sometimes or always work.

A glance at a map on which town lines were omitted but which showed the distribution of houses would lead the casual observer to believe that the district called Landaff might be nothing more than an extension of the village of Lisbon. But this township with its 72 families (again exclusive of "the Acre") is a community because its people, other than the minority of floaters, think of themselves as a group distinct from other groups. The farm people of the town, who are themselves the basis and almost the full extent of the community, feel that there are real differences between themselves and the village people, though in individual relationships this feeling is often forgotten. (See fig. 5 for residence changes in Landaff during the last 5 and 10 years).

Landaff is dependent upon Lisbon for its stores, banks, and professional men, but Lisbon is in no way exclusively dependent on Landaff. Lisbon is a center for several hill towns and would not be seriously affected if Landaff were abandoned. Some milk, butter, cheese, and vegetable produce is sold in the village by Landaff farmers, but on so small a scale that no actual economic dependence has grown up. Nevertheless, Lisbon is dependent upon the hill towns around it as a group, for its stores and other services could scarcely exist without this hinterland.

In a sense, Lisbon is an extended community trade-center made up of village and hinterland both. Lisbon farmers think of Landaff farmers not as a group but as individuals whom they know personally. Here, however, we are concerned with the relationship of Landaff, all hinterland, to the actual village of Lisbon and the people who live in it rather than with the larger diffuse community of which Lisbon is the center. Thus, although a very strong and, to some extent, one-way dependence exists, Landaff's identity as a community in itself is strong in the minds of the inhabitants, especially of its farm people.

PATTERNS OF INFORMAL ASSOCIATION

Informal cooperation in the community at present is less marked than it was previously, but while great value is placed upon independence and self-reliance, certain practices of mutual aid persist. Patterns of cooperation are of a rather general character. If a neighbor is ill and cannot do his own work, others will try to do it for him. Women will bring food to his house and offer to help. However, if the sick man were a laborer or mill worker whose residence in the community had been short and whose interests in town affairs had been negligible, this neighborly assistance would probably not be given. The community sets standards for the assistance of the people who are its components, but not for outsiders who are not fully accepted.

It is still common for certain individuals to "change work" with others. In so doing they are complying with a rather definite pattern, but the actual arrangements have much to do with specific and varying personal relationships. Changing work implies a fair exchange; it is not a spontaneous thing whereby a man feels moved to go to his neighbor's aid. Arrangements are businesslike and satisfactory to both parties, and are often determined by the kind of skills or machinery the two participants possess. For instance, a man with a two-row corn planter went to work for another man and planted all of his corn in 1 day. Since the planting was late this saved the owner of the corn a lot of hard work and a delayed crop. In return, he went to work for the man who did his planting as a regular hand and put in 2 or 3 days doing more or less unskilled labor. On another occasion, a man went with two of his teams and two of his harrows and one hired man to work another man's land, while he, the happy possessor of a tractor with two-way hydraulic plows came to plow a difficult stretch of the farmer's land.

The loaning of machinery is related to cooperation. This is not a universal practice, but certain well-equipped operators have loaned their seeders or binders upon occasion. Such loans almost always occur among the old families whose members have known each other all their lives. Unlike the giving of time and work, these loans of machines are made without any definite expectation of a return loan, for they mean no loss of time or money to the lender.

Reference has been made in Chapter II to the existence, long ago, of such cooperative affairs as "bees." Beside these there were other forms of cooperation between individuals which were felt to be necessary and proper; cattle were sometimes kept in the common pound, imports and exports were arranged by groups of men, and certain kinds of harvesting were done by several families working together. Such practices no longer exist, partly because they are not essential to present conditions where methods of farming, crops produced, acres cultivated, and available machinery differ so much from farm to farm. Moreover, time is now given a comparatively high cash value.

Even in the days when several kinds of informal cooperation existed, the ability of the individual to operate independently of others was considered a virtue, as it still is. Cooperation was probably practiced because the people understood that along specified lines cooperation was convenient and valuable. Never did these customs become strong enough or extensive enough to permit the group to have any voice in deciding the way in which individual farms were operated. That is, cooperation always operated within the larger framework of individualistic enterprise.

A clearer picture of the present situation as compared with the past is brought out by the statements of some of the farmers. An old man, now retired, recalled:

"Things are all changed now from the way they used to be. When I was a boy, there'd be big gangs of men going around from farm to farm working on the harvest and they still had raising bees. You don't get that any more. Sometimes I think folks are less obliging, and then again I think it might be because work is worth a lot more money now. Nowadays, when nobody calls on the neighbors for that kind of work, folks wouldn't think much of a man that did. Nowadays you got to manage by yourself and hire work done."

A middle-aged man, operating a medium-sized farm which has been in his family for four generations, said:

"My neighbor and I trade machinery back and forth a lot, just the way our dads did, but most don't do it so much. You'd call us good neighbors, I guess. I heard how they used to get together a lot in the old times, but it's not like that now. With this dairying, a fellow can't afford to give his time because he scarcely has enough of it for himself; and that means his time's worth money. On this place I haven't got enough help, and I could do with as much as I could get, but I'd like to be able to do for myself, like Smith does. He's got everything to do with, you know. It's just that people don't have the time they used to have, and then too the big farmers can do for themselves without help so they don't want to give any help. Besides, folks around here are real independent, and everybody wants to get along by himself if he can. They don't like to get together except for pleasure."

A young man in the process of building up a farm, expressed the following view:

"People pay for work now, and that's the way it ought to be. Sometimes I ask a man to work for me all day, and I pay him for it. Then if I work for him, I expect him, to pay me. When there wasn't any cash and no labor to hire, folks had these bees you hear about, and I suppose they were good for the times; probably the only way they could do. I'm satisfied to get along by myself just so nobody expects me to work for nothing. A man's got to be independent now so he can do what he thinks is best, and nobody wants to be in any kind of cooperative because then they'd be bound to do like the others. I decided on farming so I could be my own boss, and I'm going to do the way I think is best."

There are differences in these three opinions, but for the most part they are differences of degree rather than of kind. The old man, who has participated in bees, regrets that they are gone because he found them enjoyable, but he understands that they have no place in present-day farming. The middle-aged man expresses the most common view, being slightly regretful that everything is on a cash basis but accepting this as necessary. The young man is wholly satisfied with conditions as they are, and wishes neither to give nor to receive unpaid help. These three cases may not be entirely typical, but they represent a kind of continuum of change from acceptance to rejection of a cooperative pattern. But the basic pattern has always been individualism.

Visiting is a practice that has been modified by time, though the causes for this modification are somewhat difficult to learn. The people of the community, recognizing this change, are not agreed as to the reasons. In the past, so the older people say, visiting was far more common. In winter, when the roads were poor, families were isolated for fairly long periods, but in summer, as at other times when roads and weather permitted, families often visited in the evenings and on Sundays. In places where houses were set close together it was not unusual for women to walk to their neighbors for short visits during the day when they were not too hard pressed with house-work. Travel was slow, so trips to the village were not made needlessly and the village did not offer much in the way of entertainment. There was considerable visiting among family members, too, that sometimes involved rather long trips to other towns. This was far more common than it is today because most of the older families had relatives in the vicinity and because family solidarity (so far as the extended family was concerned) appears to have been greater at that time.

At present, visiting is extraordinarily infrequent. Although roads are now passable in the winter, (except those in the back country) there is still a seasonal

quality which may be a hold-over from the past. Even in summer, the extent of such association is very limited. It would not be unusual for a farm wife to go a week or two without making or receiving calls, and in winter social calls might occur as infrequently as once a month.

There is now, and presumably there always has been, a marked difference between men and women in this relationship. It is often said that, in the past, women were the ones who suffered from the loneliness of back-country farms because they were kept busy at home whereas the men came into contact with other people in the course of their regular business. This is still true, but a genuine distinction is to be made between the past and present situation. It seems safe to assume that in the past a visit to the neighbors meant far more than it does now. The woman, who had seen no faces but those of her own family and had heard no voices but theirs for several days, would value conversation with her neighbor far more than would the present-day farm wife who may listen to her radio, read her papers or magazines, and talk to her neighbors on the telephone.

The men make only occasional social calls. But they meet one another in connection with their daily routine far more than in the past. At the milk station, for instance, local news and gossip are discussed every day, summer and winter. There are always several farmers there at once, and brief conversations are carried on. The buying and selling of livestock means seeing and talking with other people, as does shopping in the village which is done by both men and women.

Actual visiting for non-business reasons is almost entirely confined to women, though husband and wife sometimes go together to the home of a neighbor for a game of cards or something of the sort. Invitations to meals are rarely given or expected, usually being limited to family members. It would not be unusual for an average farm family to live through a whole year without once having a meal in a neighbor's home.

The visiting, such as it is, is limited chiefly to the farm families in better circumstances. The small and usually-impecunious farmers living away from the good roads have no telephones and some are without automobiles or trucks. Because it is difficult for them to take part in the social activities of the town they often lack interest in such things. Their isolation means that contacts with other people are limited, so that real friendships do not develop between them and the other farmers. Their very way of life, based upon occasional labor and subsistence farming, makes personal contacts rare. The nonfarm people, independent as they are of the community and being often newcomers, according to the local viewpoint, are no more likely to have friends within the town than beyond it and are frequently content to be left to their own devices.

It appears, then, that visiting is no longer particularly necessary to such people as the larger farmers – the milk shippers – and no longer available, except in small measure, to the little farmers. As the need for this means of relaxation and of overcoming isolation has grown less, the emphasis upon it as an actual obligation has almost ceased.

The telephone has become an increasingly important form of social interaction. To some extent the visiting pattern has been adapted to it. Telephone calls between farm women are frequent, detailed, and almost interminable. At present, however, only

the larger farmers have telephones; only 23 homes are on the town's three telephone lines. These represent only about one-third of the total number of families, but they are the social-elect – the backbone of the community. It is obvious that, as telephones are not used extensively for business, the families who spent considerable sums to have them installed are those who had a lively interest in communicating with their friends and neighbors and in preserving a sense of solidarity. Many who do their visiting by telephone deplore the fact that person-to-person social calls are rarely made any more. One of the older farmers who was born and brought up in the town had this to say:

"People don't seem to like to visit any more; I don't know just why it is. Automobiles have a lot to do with it, because most folks have them now, and on Sundays they like to go instead of staying at home. I like to do that myself. Now, if I couldn't go off that way, I'd likely go and visit with the folks around here. My wife uses the 'phone when she wants to talk to any of the other women instead of going over, and I don't know but that it works out just as well because most of her friends have 'phones. But it's too bad that there isn't more visiting, just the same, because it's a nice thing for the town to have people seeing each other all the time. Now that they have all these modern things, families don't have to rely on things right here in town. Of course folks don't lose track of each other because they meet at Grange and at church, those that go, and men get together once in a while down in the village when they take the milk or go to the store. I don't know why visiting has become so rare now, except that times have changed in lots of ways. For one thing, folks don't have the time for it that they used to have, and the younger folks like to go to the shows and dances instead."

Such an opinion is characteristic of young and old alike. Yet, underlying the whole social situation is the fact that individualism is and always has been so strongly developed that informal association has always been somewhat limited. The environment, physical and cultural, once made certain kinds more definite and compelling than they now are. When the cultural environment changed, such customs lost their place. Traits do not vanish automatically but when the situation which necessitated them has changed, substitutes are more readily adopted. So it has been in Landaff.

People of Landaff, particularly the farm people, indulge in recreation in an extremely limited way. The nonfarm people are more free to use the available recreational activities because their work leaves their evenings free. But as there is work to be done about the house and in the garden, they cannot devote much time to amusements. Also the pastimes they find most entertaining are commercialized and so usually cost too much for their meager incomes.

The larger farmers can afford to attend movies at reasonable intervals or to take short recreational trips, but the dairy routine does not permit them to be absent from the farm until work is done in the evening. It is the younger men, the few remaining sons of farmers, who see the movies and attend the dances because they alone are willing to sacrifice much sleeping time for such entertainments. Their fathers occasionally attend some function which seems to them well worth while, arranging their work so that they may leave after supper and return to the farm before the night is too far spent. But such occasions are infrequent because they disrupt the rhythm of day-to-day work.

Probably those to whom recreation in almost any form is least available are the operators of the small farms. They are obliged to do a certain amount of work off the

farm in order to pad out their otherwise insufficient incomes. This means that the work of the farm itself must be done in a somewhat irregular way between jobs, and is likely to require as much time as the operator can give. Obviously, no time remains for recreation, informal or commercialized, except on rare occasions, and money for it is hard to find.

Virtually no informal associations in the town have to do with recreation. Very occasionally, the young people get together for a kind of party, but these affairs take on the nature of a visit chiefly. If they wish to dance, they must go to another town on a night when its regular dance is to be given. Many of the villages have weekly or biweekly dances, some of which are put on by orchestras who hire a town building and charge admission. Landaff itself has a dance once or twice in the course of a year.

Some of the old people say that before the advent of moving pictures and commercialized dances people got together occasionally in one of the larger homes for informal debates, singing, or kitchen junkets. The kitchen affairs were apparently rather popular; they consisted not only of refreshments furnished by the host but of dancing to whatever music could be provided. The town's formal organizations were once much more active and provided considerable recreation of all sorts. When transportation improved and commercialized entertainments became available these practices quickly disappeared.

In Landaff there are a few isolated instances of association between specific families for recreation. Two families, for instance, get together on Monday nights to play cards and talk. The older children of two other families meet at irregular intervals to play games and make fudge or pop corn. The three or four grown unmarried sons of farm families often borrow a family car to take their girls for evening drives. All of these, of course, are associations between a very few specific individuals.

Most of the informal association to be found in Landaff is between the younger children of grade-school age. There are only 43 such children in the town, and 12 of these live in the so-called Scotland district, far enough from the rest of the community so that they almost never see the others. Among the 31 who could presumably get together, associations are controlled by distance between homes and by sex and age. When two homes are within easy walking distance there is some kind of association among the children even where the ages differ considerably. But when children go to play with children other than their neighbors, it is because these others are of nearly the same age and, generally, of the same sex. One 12-year old boy, for instance, plays with four children who live close at hand. Of these four children, the older ones are girls and the two younger ones are little boys only 4 years old. But this boy often goes to places 3 miles away to play with two other boys that are within about a year of his own age.

The extent of such associations, and even their number, are not to be overestimated. It is most unusual for a child to have more than four or five friends whom he sees regularly outside of school, and there are children whose frequent associates number no more than one or two. Children on most of the farms may go for several days without playing with their friends and, because it is seldom that children of more than two families are together at the same time, specific patterns of recreation of larger groupings are not to be found.

To summarize the recreational situation briefly, we may say: (1) so far as recreation, commercialized and other, is concerned, nonfarm people are in a more favorable position than are the farmers, as they can give more time to it; (2) commercialized entertainment has largely supplanted other kinds of recreation, with the exception of hunting, fishing, or motoring; and (3) there is a negative correlation between age and extent of informal leisure-time association and the extent of such informal contacts, none too large even among small children, dwindles to practically nothing in the case of most middle-aged or elderly people.

PATTERNS OF FORMAL ASSOCIATION

Intrafamilial relationships in this area and locality are highly variable but certain attitudes are shared by the majority of the farm people and by nonfarm people who come of local parentage. The father is head of the household and responsible for the welfare of all its members so long as they remain at home. He carries on the farm business in his own way and, as a rule, without question from his wife or children. But he generally consults his wife on business matters which may have an effect upon the home itself. He apportions the income as he sees fit, allowing whatever he thinks he can afford to his wife for household expenses. If he has a grown son working on the place, he decides whether the boy shall be paid a regular wage or receive a certain share of the income, and how much responsibility he shall be granted.

The distribution of this responsibility is perhaps the most enlightening indicator of member roles in the family. On every farm, the wife is fully responsible for the home itself. Innovations and improvements must of course be financed by the head of the family, but they are often suggested and requested by her. In families where self-sufficient methods are still strong, the importance of the woman is greater than it otherwise would be, for her skills make possible a better and less expensive life than would otherwise be possible. Therefore her authority and her responsibilities are greater than are those of the wives of laborers and nonfarm people who are not in a position to improve the family level of living by preserving foods and making clothes. There are exceptions, of course, for certain nonfarm people raise home gardens and make what clothes they can at home, but as many of them are aware that they may soon move away, they live a more hand-to-mouth existence. Also, living as they do on a more-or-less regular cash income, they have become more conditioned toward the money economy and away from self-sufficiency.

The father, as long as he can continue to be fairly active, holds his position as head and carefully supervises the work of his son. It is difficult to generalize on the basis of the few grown sons in Landaff, but certainly these young men continue to work under their fathers' direction and will probably do so until the father's old age forbids it.

Three families have daughters living in the community; two of these live in their parents' houses, but all three are married. Few girls in this community have any wish to become farmers' wives; they marry town or village people, or go to the city for employment. There is far less to hold them at home than there is in the case of their brothers, for they are not necessary to the continued existence of the farm except in those instances where the property passes to a daughter. (See Chap. III, p. 33). Earlier, in the discussion of self-sufficiency, it became apparent that this attitude

(which seemed to develop at an early age) made daughters less willing to learn from their mothers than might have been expected. Even the prospect of inheriting a farm is often far less attractive to them than to the sons. Indications are that although few boys from the North-Country farms wish to stay on them, an even smaller number of girls are willing to become farm wives. However, we have seen that in several instances farms have passed to the married daughter's husband, provided he was willing to be the farm operator.

In its relationships with other families the family is a strong and well-defined unit, though the solidarity, in some cases, is more apparent than real. Divorce is not uncommon and desertion sometimes occurs. These things happen less often in the older, more well-to-do families than in those of the small farmers. Perhaps isolation is not enough to bind a family together and economic and personal factors have a part in dissolving the rural as well as the urban family.

Certain changes in family relationships in the past years are striking enough to be discussed among the people. Most of the older men claim that children no longer feel much obligation to their parents, and attribute this to the fact that farm life means nothing to the young people who want to escape from it. Accompanying this attitude is often another which holds that children cannot be blamed for wishing to get away from the farm. It is something to be deplored but also to be accepted as a result of changing conditions. One of the officers of the town has this to say about it:

"A lot of young people go away from here to work in the towns, and then they forget all about the folks at home. There are families where the kids all come back when they can – what you might call the best families, folks that have been here a long time. But in some families, where the old folks need money, their children don't help at all. It's partly on account of relief; the children figure that the old folks won't starve, that they can go on the town or get relief without them having to help. It seems as if folks were kind of losing their pride, because in the old days people thought it was a terrible thing to go on the town or take charity. Some of these families here are a different kind of folks that have come in, and they don't do things like the families that have always lived here do."

Independence, characteristic of the fathers, is no less characteristic of the sons. Even those who work under their fathers' direction do so with the understanding that in time they will become the owners of the farms upon which they now work. This independence is accepted by the parents as natural and proper, so that if the sons wish to leave the farm, no effort is made to stop them. In the past, when farming was as attractive to the sons as to the fathers, the family relationships were extremely satisfactory. But if a son leaves the farm, he is likely to become so much engrossed in his new life that family ties seem to grow less important, and any obligation toward his parents, unless they are in real need, is minimized.

In the old families, particularly in the upper social groups, husband and wife depend upon each other and share between them the responsibilities of the home and farm. Their children are brought up to be self-reliant, and to take pride in their descent and in their own personal abilities, whatever they may be. When they choose to leave the farm and go to the city, their choice is respected because initiative is respected.

Among certain of the families where money is painfully scarce – those of laborers and small farmers – family relationships appear at times to break down almost completely. Children seem to think that they have received little from their parents (to whom, in fact, they have been a burden) and, having lived a life of extreme poverty for many years, they concern themselves with bettering their own lot. Even though they may remain in or near the community, they show little or no interest in their parents. In such families as these, life is so difficult and so unrewarding that traditions are lost and only a desire for personal security remains.

As stability has decreased, the importance of the extended family has also declined. It was once customary for relatives to keep in constant touch with each other so that the family might maintain a certain degree of integration. Now, branches of families may be scattered and engaged in many different occupations. Because visiting is no longer common and frequent, contacts are not kept up.

The more striking alterations in family relations and values may be summarized as follows: (1) Family solidarity is less strong now than previously. This is shown by loosening of contacts among members, decline in authority of parents over sons and daughters, especially as the children advance to adulthood, and by the more frequent occurrence of divorce or desertion. The customary solidarity is more evident in the older farm families than among the nonfarm population. (2) Although the patriarchal pattern persists, the power of the father is clearly being dissipated in the face of out-migration of the children and the decline in his own economic status. (3) The status of women varies – as it did in the past – with the general family standing in the community, economic condition, and particular husband-wife relationship. Apparently the wife has long had certain prerogatives as to management of the household and garden, and has in many cases acted as a consultant to her husband in financial affairs. Perhaps the chief change has been in the attitudes and values associated with the traditional role as farmer's wife. Few young women indicate any strong wish to continue in the traditional feminine role on the farm. (4) Likewise but few of the young men have retained any great wish to remain in agriculture, at least in this section. Most of them – like the young women – want to go to the cities to earn a living. With respect to both young men and young women, the pressure of population on the local resources, of course, is the basic factor in inducing this change.

There are three school districts in Landaff, each with a one-room schoolhouse. At its population peak the town was divided into seven districts, but as the population declined certain schools were closed. For example, the most recent school to be abandoned was in the center of the town, because no family in the center district had a single child of grade-school age.

The three schools still in use are widely separated (fig. 8). The Scotland district has a school because it is cut off from the rest of the town in winter, the two connecting roads shown on the map being impassable in bad weather.

The school serving the core of the township is located in the district known as Ireland, which is never isolated from the rest of the township. The school, long there, is maintained because 15 children live within a mile of it.

Finally, the Blue school district serves the 18 children from homes in the northwestern part of the town. The term "Third District," which originally applied to

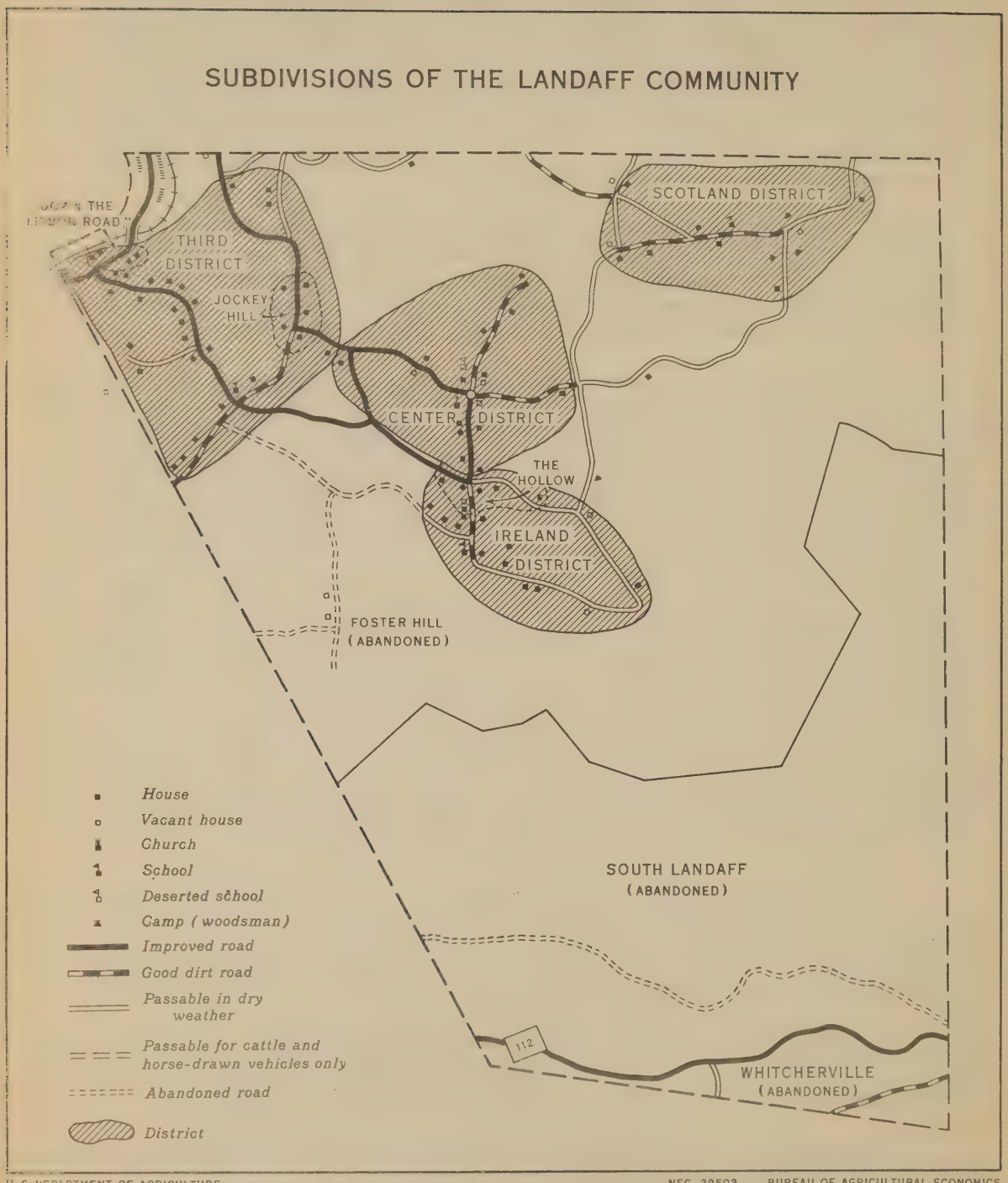
SUBDIVISIONS OF THE LANDAFF COMMUNITY
SCOTLAND DISTRICT
THIRD DISTRICT
JOCKEY HILL
CENTER DISTRICT
THE HOLLOW
IRELAND DISTRICT
FOSTER HILL (ABANDONED)
SOUTH LANDAFF (ABANDONED)
112
WHITCHERVILLE (ABANDONED)
House
Vacant house
Church
School
Deserted school
Camp (woodsman)
Improved road
Good dirt road
Passable in dry weather
Passable for cattle and horse-drawn vehicles only
Abandoned road
District
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
NEG. 39503
BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

FIGURE 8

the whole area which this school served, has undergone a modification, which is sociologically interesting. In the small area known as Jockey Hill, whose children attend the Blue school, are located four of the town's best farms. The fifth house is rented by one of the four farmers as a nonfarm home to a fairly prosperous electrician. It is the only place in the town where as many as four large farmers live near each other and where none of the laborers or poor small farmers ever has lived. For this reason the name of the locality has a definite meaning, implying strong identification with the community and with the community's past, as well as a better standard of living than any other part of the town can claim. There are other farms in the town as large or larger than these, but they are not sufficiently contiguous to form the basis of a social group.

Several facts about the schools will clarify certain of the basic changes in the character of the community.

The outstanding facts concerning the three school districts may be briefly summarized by saying: (1) among the children of farm families, a relatively higher number of school-age children in one district is due chiefly to the presence of a few married sons of elderly farm people who chose to remain in the community and who are young enough to have school-age children; (2) the children in school represent relatively few families; and (3) the children in general do not come from farm families, the majority representing young families engaged in part-time farming or nonfarm work, many having come from outside the community and many having low incomes.

Taking the whole community into consideration, only six farm families have children in school. The reasons are not hard to discover. The out-migration of the past decade or so was made up chiefly of people who, had they remained, would now have children of school age. The present farm population is largely composed of people above middle age whose children, comparable in age with the woodsmen, part-time farmers, and laborers, have established their families elsewhere. It may be asked why the nonfarm and small farm people have been less quick to leave than the children of the more well-to-do farmers; many of these people, particularly those engaged in mill work, forest work, or other labor, came to live in Landaff because they obtained employment nearby and because they found cheap houses and low taxes. These families somewhat offset the sharp out-migration of the children of farm families. Nevertheless the children of these relatively transient families by no means replace the farm children who might be there had such an emigration not occurred. The observer gets a real sense of this being an aging and declining community when he sees 10 or 12 pupils in a room equipped for 30 or 35.

Though there are few farm children in school, the farm people control local education just as they do local political activities. The school board is honestly interested in the quality of these one-room schools and of the teachers who will accept the low salaries the town offers. Among many of the older people there is a marked feeling that the schools should stick more to the three R's and let such things as art, music, and languages go by the boards—actually the emphasis on these newer subjects is slight. The farm people, particularly the larger operators, place considerable value upon education, being unanimously agreed that a high-school course is a real asset. Every person in the community insists that his children go to the grade schools but most of the poorer people do not feel that a high-school education is necessary. As it happens, 7 boys and girls from Landaff attend the Lisbon high school.

Figure 9.- *The Blue School.*

The three schools of Landaff carry on few extra-curricular activities. During their regular term the pupils come for the daily sessions and return home as soon as school is dismissed. On certain national holidays, like Decoration Day, the schools may put on small shows for the benefit of the parents, but they are infrequent. In the minds of the people in Landaff the school is simply an institution which should give their children, as efficiently as possible, the kind of schooling from which they will benefit most, from a practical point of view.

The inhabitants of Landaff all more or less agree to the American belief that an education for everyone is necessary, proper, and expected. All agree that the training should be basically of a practical rather than of a theoretical character. The so-called "frills" of modern education receive little approval. Yet just how practical the education is, is not indicated. It is our inference that aside from the usual tools of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic there is little direct practical training, at least in the lower grades. Even in the high school very little instruction is directly related to farm life.

Apparently the churches have a minor function in this community at present. It was not possible to uncover the basic reasons for this fact. Our interpretations are based on inferences drawn from certain objective data and from the comments of certain residents.

The one remaining church in Landaff is Methodist. In the early days there were a Methodist, a Baptist, and an Adventist church. The dates upon which the Baptist and Adventist organizations expired are not known exactly (or at least are unpublished), but it would appear that Methodism has held sway for more than a century.

Our best judgment is that churches as such were perhaps never of great significance in this community. The original membership of a church was a humble dozen persons at a time when there were certainly as many people in town as there are now. As time passed, the list of members grew and apparently was at its height in the 1860's when the town's population was at its maximum. A few of the older men remember seeing large crowds at the church in their childhood, 50 or 60 years ago.

There is some evidence that for a time Methodism grew in power and influence throughout the North Country. Old accounts tell of bellowing ministers and responsive audiences in the last part of the nineteenth century. Yet, even in that time, there were always a lot of people who cared little about formal religious practices. It may be that Landaff was unusual in this whole matter, but accounts pertaining to towns not far from Landaff tell of the difficulties experienced by ministers when trying to collect the "minister tax" out of which came their livelihood.

However that may be, churches here, and in the hills in general, lost members, or more accurately, ceased to gain new members. In the words of a man born in the town more than 60 years ago: "A lot of folks didn't seem to be much interested in church any more. But there was still a good-sized congregation until I got to be a young man. I don't know why folks didn't want to go. Of course, there were fewer people here in town anyway, but most of them didn't care much about religion. Though I do remember when Mr. Smith was preaching here, he used to get up to 60 people on a Sunday. The minister makes all the difference, you know. Well, I don't go to church hardly at all, now that my wife's gone, and my boys don't go either. I don't think many people but Catholics care about church much any more."

Another man, somewhat younger, reported: "I go to church right along unless the weather is especially good or something like that, and than I go for a picnic. But I like to have the church in town, because it doesn't look good to have a community like this with no church, and new people aren't so likely to come and live in it."

The remaining church is run by the old families. The twelve trustees are all farm people but one (an unmarried lady). They come mostly of the old Landaff stock or have married into old families. This group meets once or sometimes twice a year to hear the reports of the superintendent of the Sunday School and of the Finance Committee. One couple is in charge of both finances and the Sunday School organization, and both husband and wife are descended from the earliest families in the town.

The present list of members includes 20 names. Five of these people no longer live in the community, and of the remaining 15, only 5 attend regularly. One other comes to about half the meetings, and another to perhaps one-fourth of them. Besides the actual members there are listed nine "preparatory members," most of them young people. Three of these are no longer in the town, three attend regularly when at home, and the others come only occasionally. These young people are mostly farm children.

It is worth noting that at least two women of the town who are not members attend regularly, and that not all of the trustees are members. Of the 21 regular and preparatory members of the church, 13 are women and girls. This preponderance of female members is even more striking in the actual church attendance, for most of the active participants are women.

During the winter, when transportation is slow and difficult, the attendance each Sunday is very small. As a rule there are between 7 and 10 people present - often only one man among them - the church treasurer. The others are four or five women and some of their children. The service is of the usual sort, and there is not much visiting before or after the service.

In summer, attendance varies from 15 to around 30 on special occasions. Again there is usually only the one older man, but two or three grown boys sometimes attend. The rest are women and their small children, with the exception of two or three grown girls. After the service the minister, whose regular church is in the village, hastens off to give his sermon there, while the children stay in the church for Sunday School lessons given them by three of the ladies of the church.

Because the older class in Sunday School includes boys and girls up to 18 or so and because some of the adults often stay over, Sunday School attendance is about as large as the church attendance; there are often as many as 15 pupils.

All told, scarcely more than 10 families in the community are represented in the church on Sundays. This is a small fraction of the whole community, which, exclusive of "the Acre," totals between 70 and 80 families, depending upon the number of woodsmen and floaters in the town. In short, less than 15 percent of the families in town are in any way directly affected by the church. Of the thirty-odd farm families, large and small, only one-fourth to one-third participate in the formal church activities, despite the fact that the church is supported almost entirely by this group.

In certain rural communities, the local churches have lost members because of larger churches in nearby towns. This has not happened in Landaff. Lisbon village contains at least three regular churches, all larger and more handsome than Landaff's

own, but with the exception of the 3 or 4 Catholics living in the township who go to their church in the village, virtually none of Landaff's churchgoers attends services in Lisbon.

Aside from actual church services and Sunday School classes, there are two formal organizations in the community related to the church and which can carry on only as long as it exists. They are the Ladies' Aid Society and the Epworth League. The fortnightly meetings of the League have a slightly religious flavor, but attendance is kept up by a general interest in its recreational program and because it is the only young people's organization in the community. All the children of churchgoing families who are eligible (between the ages of 12 and 18) belong to the League, as do several whose parents are not otherwise interested in the church. A number of other children would belong if they did not live too far away. This question of distance from the center is more of a deterrent for the children than for the adults, as the latter almost always have some means of transportation. The Epworth League draws no members from Scotland or from the more distant part of the third district. However, children of the "floaters" and of the nonfarm families are not excluded from the organization and would be welcome if they cared to join.

The formal purpose of the Ladies' Aid Society is to raise money toward the minister's salary. Its 12 members include all the more faithful churchgoers, and a few other women are willing to help procure and prepare food for the dinners that the Society serves. These dinners are given once a month during the summer, but in winter it is impossible to find enough paying guests to make them worth while. So far as the community as a whole is concerned, the organization is not important as its activities are restricted to money-raising. It is significant that, although not all its members are farm women, all are "Landaff people," Not a single member is the wife of a laborer, woodsman, or a floater.

In conclusion, the place of the local church may be summarized as follows:

(1) For the whole community, about one family in seven attends meetings, though every family which considers itself definitely a part of the community contributes toward the maintenance of the church.

(2) The great majority of the church-going families are included among the 50 percent who may be roughly classed as farm people. Most of these come of old families.

(3) Church-going is now almost entirely limited to women and children. Though several heads of households avoid card playing on Sundays, most of them feel that this is no more than a holdover from the past.

(4) The consensus among men and women alike is that people are no longer much interested in the church as a formal institution. They often explain this by maintaining that work hours are longer and free time is scarcer, so their little free time should be devoted to recreation. It is believed that the place of the church in the lives of the people has been supplanted by interest in other things which did not exist or were not available at the time the church was most dominant. Just how thoroughly this negative attitude carries over to deeper, more personal religious matters is not known. There is evidence that religious faith remains among many even though they do not go to church. In fact, these people are not unlike many individuals and families in this country in that they retain most of the traditional religio-ethical standards although their active part in church work has practically disappeared.

Figure 10.- *Farm people at church in Landaff.*

Landaff's farm organizations are three in number: the Grange, the 4-H Club, and the Home Demonstration Club.

The Grange is by far the dominant organization in the town, being the only one regularly attended by a considerable number of people, men as well as women. It meets once every 2 weeks on Friday evening, alternating with Epworth League meetings so that members can attend both. There are 78 members – almost four times as many as there are in any other organization in the community – but 12 of these do not now live in Landaff. Though a farmers' group, it has several nonfarm people among the members. Probably scarcely more than half of the families are farm people. Included are two summer families, the teachers of the Ireland and Blue schools, one of the authors of this monograph and his wife, three families of nonfarm people who have lived here many years and are felt to belong in the town. There are also four laborers, two of whom are sons of one of the oldest farm families, now impoverished; another has lived here the 18 years since he was a child; the fourth came recently from another town, but is interested in all town affairs and has been accepted. All of the larger farmers belong except those of Scotland and two who have moved into the town from Lisbon and have kept up connections there. (The latter actually reside considerably nearer Lisbon than Landaff center).

As a secret society the Grange has its credo, ritual, and hierarchy of officers, and doubtless provides a good deal of vicarious emotional satisfaction. In fact, the decline of the formal church in Landaff is perhaps counterbalanced by the appeal of the Grange. At present its recreational function is more important. Its politico-economic interests are of a lesser degree of importance than formerly. At an earlier period, farm problems and legislation were discussed at every meeting, but at present "new business" is rarely brought up.

Formal proceedings are followed by a program of debates, recitations, music, games, or other leisure-time activities that are highly enjoyed. There is a general good feeling and enjoyment by all who take part. When the program is over members remain to talk and, if music is available, to dance for a while; refreshments are provided by some member who has been designated and people often linger until almost midnight.

Technically, new members are elected. What actually happens is that those who wish to join fill out a written application to be considered by the Grange in its next session and voted upon. No member may vote against an applicant unless he can show just reason why this person should not be admitted, which means (in the case of all but strangers) that to apply is to become a member. This means that the people of the town who do not belong do not wish to belong. With only one or two exceptions the Grange includes all of the people who feel any strong interest in the community.

As might be expected, most of the more transient and economically less able families prefer the movies as a source of entertainment. Such people speak of the Grange as follows: "It's a good thing for the town, I suppose, because it's the only time people get together. If you have a lot of friends that belong, it might be worth going to. But we don't see those folks much, and we don't care about joining up. Besides, you got to pay dues and when you don't know how long you're going to be around, it's no use to join it."

The opinion of the large majority, members and nonmembers, is quite definite. It might be expressed thus: "The Grange is the only thing we have that we like to attend.

People have a good time there, and even the visitors say it's a nice Grange. Of course, there aren't as many young people as there might be, but that can't be helped. You see all your neighbors and talk to them, where otherwise you might not, and you know what's going on. The biggest trouble is that not all the members make a point of coming each time, but we have a pretty good attendance just the same. There are folks that don't belong because they live a long way off and don't have a car, or because they're old people who stay at home most of the time. And then there's a lot that don't care about it; but they're mostly floaters, and don't really belong here."

The Grange is managed by farmers. The Master and Lecturer, as well as the other leading officers, are from the farms. There is a difference in the extent of community-mindedness of the farm and nonfarm people. Membership in the Grange does not necessarily imply so much concern with the life of the community as does membership in the church or the Ladies Aid Society. The small nucleus of farm families who are represented in all the organizations of the town and its government are the essential ruling élite of the community.

The 4-H Club has awakened considerable interest in recent years. The date of the original Landaff club is not known by the people of the town, for it was very small when it started. Recently, membership has increased under the guiding hand of an able and progressive leader, the wife of a big farmer. The ten members are between 10 and 14 years of age, and attend regularly. Most of these children are of families not primarily dependent upon farming, since there are very few children of farm families in this age range. But all of these children are interested in farm life, and, if they remain in the community, they should benefit considerably from the training received in carrying out their assigned projects.

As in the case of the Epworth League, certain children live too far away to be able to come to the meetings. Thus, there are no members from Scotland or from the more distant parts of the Ireland district except for one boy in the latter district whose father is a community-minded man. In the Ireland and the Third District combined there are only two farm children of the appropriate age, and both belong. The few children who could have joined but have not, are not interested in carrying out the farm projects which the club sponsors.

The townspeople hold the 4-H Club in high esteem. It is not old enough to be judged by the merits of any of its former members who have grown up to be farmers. But it is generally felt that the children are learning useful things which may interest them in farm life. Furthermore, the recreational aspect of the club's activities offers the children trips and hikes and games together which they would not otherwise have. The 4-H Club is unique in that no dissenting voice in the whole town is raised against it.

The only other farm organization in Landaff – the Home Demonstration Club – is not particularly active. It has eleven members, three of whom are not wives of farmers, but are members of every organization in the town except the church and the children's clubs. Two members, who are from distant parts of the town, come to only two of the four annual meetings. The club functions only when a district leader addresses the members at the regular meetings, telling them how to make certain foods, clothes, etc. The members try to carry out projects based on such information. Membership is variable. Certain farm women who once belonged are too busy just now to carry out their projects.

The three farm organizations described, together with the church and its associated groups, make up the sum of Landaff's formal social organizations. The assembled data on these organizations have shown clearly that more than half the families in town are totally unaffected by any of them. It is safe to assume that this situation is comparatively new. During earlier days a larger proportion of the population were farmers who had stability, permanence, and anticipation for the future. These people had a greater interest in such community activities.

At present there are a large number of families in town whose home and work do not bind them to the soil; their relationship to the town is not specific but general. The old, retired people and young day laborers who work where they can did not come to participate actively in the life of Landaff. They came to get jobs and cheap homes. They have never felt they were a close part of this community.

There are no outstanding cooperatives in the town or the vicinity. Several farmers buy grain, etc., from the so-called Eastern States cooperative, a large organization whose central office is in Springfield, Mass. It is able to sell for regular prices and yet refund dividends to the purchasers. Such an enterprise, however, is not a cooperative in the mutual-aid sense, for Eastern States' products are bought at local stores by individual farmers just as are the goods of non-cooperative concerns.

Virtually all of the farmers who ship milk to Boston are now members of the New England Dairies, Inc., which is a cooperative in that it is owned collectively by farmers. The local milk stations were bought by the farmers from wholesalers. Each man contributes so much per hundredweight out of his regular milk returns to the support of the plant that serves him. The financial obligations involved in the purchase are met from the returns.

The milk plant serving Landaff and other nearby areas is located in Lisbon. Established about 3 years ago as a New England Dairies' station, it appears to be successful. The farmers who bring their milk for shipping do not run the plant themselves (this is done by employees of the organization) but they may express opinions or make criticisms at the regular meetings. These meetings are the only occasions when the members of this great marketing cooperative meet together, and it is noteworthy that few farmers (out of the possible number) attend them. The general attitude is that the company is well run, and there is nothing that individual operators could do even if they wanted to. There is little evidence that deep cooperative attitudes have in any way replaced the traditional individualism.

Some 30 years ago the dairy business of this and adjacent communities was carried out through a cooperative creamery in the nearby village. Presumably the extent of direct control exerted by the individual members was greater than it is now, so that more members were willing to join the organization. Nevertheless, it is said that a number of farmers were not satisfied with the creamery because it obligated them in certain ways and did not leave them wholly free to handle their milk and cream as they saw fit. This creamery ceased to be a cooperative only when it was bought by a Vermont concern which ran it as a private enterprise until it began to lose money.

Evidently, formal cooperatives never have been an important part of this community. Far more is to be learned from the opinions of farm people about cooperatives in general than from an examination of the purely business cooperatives which

now affect the town. One or two men who know the town and its problems have something to say about this question: one remarked, "People here don't want cooperatives at all. They want to do things their own way, and not have other folks doing part of their business. Now in Vermont, of course, they have a whole lot of cooperative creameries, and I suppose they do a better business than just the farmers alone could do. But folks here want to own what they have and run their own farms. They're real independent, always have been. Besides, there aren't many real cooperatives you could have in a town like this, where all the farms are separate and scattered. Supposing there was a cooperative here that owned machinery to handle grain, so we could all grow our own. Some would have land that would be too rough for the machines, and some have more land than others. I'd want to reap my grain first off, and so would you, and so would the other folks. No, you couldn't do it. Each farm is different and each farmer's got different ideas."

Another said: "Our people just don't think that way. We could do more here if people would get together, but they don't want to get together. We could raise grain more cheaply, and maybe we could do some other things more cheaply, too. Most farms are too small to pay here and if they could be run together it would work better. But the men who own the little farms don't want to join with any others, and the fields are so scattered it would be hard to do. It's this way: There isn't much cooperative work that could be done here, but people wouldn't want to get together even if there were."

Like hundreds of other New England towns, Landaff has its own local government which operates pretty much along the same lines as the town government did 150 years ago. This is perhaps the clearest expression of solidarity and self-determination in the entire locality. No other influence has so definite an effect in maintaining the community. In the Midwest, for example, local government is primarily on a county basis and so tends to direct the interest of people in outlying communities toward a central town or village, thus in some ways weakening the identity of specific communities. In Landaff, however, the local government holds the attention of the permanent residents.

The chief officer of the town is the moderator, who directs the town meetings and settles problems that are brought to him. Such problems are few, and relate to town affairs only. The town clerk keeps all of the records, issues permits, and generally runs the town's business. The selectmen, of whom there are three in Landaff, constitute the actual management of the town; they order work done and decide on matters of policy.

These are the most important officers. Then there is a highway agent, a town treasurer, a tax collector, three trustees of the town's funds, three library trustees, three supervisors of the checklist, a constable, an overseer of the poor, a health officer, and an auditor. Other titles which do not appear on the town report, are the "viewer of fences" and "keepers of the pound." At one time there were several other town officers whose titles are no longer heard for their functions have long since ceased.

Town meetings are held on regular dates specified by the State statutes. Various officers are elected and local governmencal business transacted. The terms of most officers are 3 years, and are so staggered as to election that among the selectmen, for instance, only one new man may come in for any given year. The citizens of the town assemble to vote by actual ballot for any person they may choose to fill the

particular office. A simple majority elects, and balloting is carried on until one person is given this majority.

For example, the town meeting of March 1940, was attended by about 150 people, including children. Approximately 70 of these were qualified voters, in terms of age and residence. Not all voters cast their ballots in the election of each officer. In several instances, fewer than 60 votes were cast. To save time the less important town officers were elected by oral vote. Then officers of the school board were voted upon. When the elections were completed questions of town business and appropriations were taken up. The people of "the Acre" do not, as a rule, attend town meetings, though many of them are legally qualified to vote. The meeting took all morning and part of the afternoon, and was a "social" as well as a "political" affair. The women of the town supplied a dinner for the assembled people, and there was a great deal of talking and visiting among families who had not seen each other for weeks or even months.

The voters from "the Acre" do at times take part in local politics, and there is some evidence that they take part in State and National elections. Thus in the autumn of 1940 when Landaff was to elect its representative to the State legislature, the "vote" in "the Acre" became significant. The candidates were farmers from the upper social group as usual. Reports have it that many of the residents of "the Acre" openly cast their ballots for the candidate who would promise them direct and personal favors. Some even sought to impose petty graft on the candidates. Here was an attempted exploitation of the farm leaders by people otherwise considered as inferior and having little or no place in the Landaff community. It is not known how customary this sort of pressure is, but the incident reveals that in certain situations the residents of "the Acre" have an attention value for the leaders of the community.

An analysis of the March meeting referred to above shows that nearly every farm family in the community was represented, even those from Scotland. Those who were not in attendance were chiefly nonfarm people and a few farm families who took the attitude that it made no difference whether they attended or not. There was a general assumption that most of the incumbents of the offices would be re-elected as, in fact, they were.

The attendance at town meetings and the identity of the office-holders of the town are of interest, for these matters shed light on the nature of community structure. The moderator, town clerk, and selectmen are all operators of good-sized farms, and each was born in the town and of an old family. Of the lesser offices, 5 out of the 17 are held by farm people. It is possible for one man to hold more than one office; the moderator, for instance, is also a selectman and a trustee of the trust fund. In fact, all of the positions in the town government are distributed among a rather small number of people. This indicates a definite restriction of potential officerships and reflects the class structure of the community.

It is not surprising that so many of the town's officers, especially all its important officers, are farm people. Not only are a great majority of nonfarm inhabitants disqualified from voting, but there is a definite tradition that in local government the most influential men of the town should be elected to office. In Landaff, all of the reasonably well-to-do residents are farmers with the exception of two or three families who have come to live in the town from outside, and who are people of independent means. As these people are new to the town they are not seriously considered for town office.

Not all of the laborers and nonfarm people were disinterested in the elections. Several, mostly long-time residents, were present. They belong to the Grange and take an active interest in other community affairs. These people vote for the large farmers as a matter of course, which suggests that it is not occupation itself which determines the attitude of nonfarmers toward the dominant farmers, but the strength of the social bonds holding the individual to the community. Nonfarm work, especially in the mill, has been responsible for the presence of certain families who are not interested in Landaff as a farming community. The fact that they are mill workers or nonfarmers does not explain this lack of interest so much as does their recent arrival and their residential instability. By the same token, the higher officers are not re-elected time after time because they are farmers, but because they are Landaff people and sons of Landaff people.

Many factors enter into the political behavior of Landaff: occupation, tradition, wealth, stability, length of residence, and others. Wealth and long residence are the most important. Only the large farmers combine the essentials of an average or higher-than-average level of living and well-established local ancestry. Of the larger farmers, however, not all can or will accept town offices, so that the choice of the voters is further limited. Should any of the few nonfarm people who "belong" in the town acquire property and an imcome of at least normal amount, they might be elected. Their present status excludes them because it is felt that town officers should be men who have proved their ability to carry on their own businesses successfully.

In short, the government of Landaff in 1940 was in the hands of men who fulfill the traditional qualifications of high status and local parentage. In the light of present instability and economic uncertainty, it is difficult to predict just how long this will be true. Had not most of the sons of the abler farmers left, they would probably take over these local responsibilities. But as most of them have migrated to the outside the changes in the personnel of local political authorities that will take place in the near future cannot be foretold.

LEADERSHIP AND CLASS STRUCTURE

Although the community is characterized by a strong sense of individualism and of personal responsibility, there is a rather distinct social stratification. Most persons remark that in Landaff one man is as good as another, but this obviously represents a verbal rationalization of the long-standing value of equality and individuality, especially with reference to the upper group. Actually, there is considerable class difference among the inhabitants although this is only slightly formalized. Roughly speaking, there are three or possibly four groups: (1) the farm owners who have obtained economic resources, who run the local organizations and control local government; (2) the part-time farmers and few tenants; (3) the laborers who reside more or less permanently in the township or at least in the area; and, (4) the floaters – those more mobile individuals and families who move in and out of the community without ever taking an active part in its affairs. In addition, the residents of "the Acre," though but slightly involved in community life, represent something akin to the laboring class and floaters as far as status is concerned. They are not a true group in the sense of these others, but they occupy a vaguely defined inferior position nevertheless.

The usual statement that there are no class lines, in part, goes back to the cultural heritage. In the early years there was no class distinction. Certain men

were respected because of their ability to take care of their own problems, and others were condemned as being lazy and shiftless. The latter soon became poor, if they were not already so, but poverty itself was not important in this newly-opened country where money was not altogether necessary. Occupation hardly furnished sufficient basis for stratification. It was not uncommon for a young man to engage in day labor or tenant farming in order to accumulate certain capital. At present there are farmers who, as young men, worked for other men as hired hands. No stigma is attached to hard work as such. We find also that sons and daughters of farmers, particularly the daughters, are working or have worked for other people as maids or waiters, and without objections from their parents. The sense of superior status rests rather upon the evidence for personal ambition, self-reliance, hard work, and sense of independence. By the standards of this community, shiftlessness, obvious economic inefficiencies, and dependency are the evident marks of inferior people.

Among young people, then, to be a laborer does not cause a loss of prestige. Older people assume that a man who is intelligent enough and hard-working enough will improve his lot in time. This does not mean that he must become a farmer to earn the respect of his neighbors, but that he should be able to find employment of a better kind than day labor. Individual differences and accidents, bits of good or bad luck, etc., are taken into account; and there is no definite age at which a man must rise to a better position or be classed thereafter as socially inadequate. For instance, the attitude of a big farmer about the man he hires was put thus: "Tom is a good man, just as honest and reliable as you might want him to be, but he isn't the kind of man that can do for himself. Leave him alone and he'll let things slide, but give him orders and he'll work real well. That's just the kind of man he is."

This point of view well expresses a rather common consensus respecting the individual differences on which status is predicated. The most respected men are never the poorest men, for respect is granted now, as it was in the past, on the basis of their ability to "make out." It is no disgrace for a young man to be hopelessly poor, nor is it so for older men if their poverty is due to unusual factors.

As has been emphasized, family descent and long residence are important. There is no doubt that the town's most respected people are of old families; but this alone is not sufficient ground for determining higher standing, for not every member of the old families is well liked or respected.

The qualities by which men are judged are mostly qualities which have their roots in self-sufficiency. Thrift, hard work, independence, and initiative are perhaps the most important. Undoubtedly these real cultural values have been most emphasized in those farm families in which tradition means much. Thus, it is upon that basis that class status is determined. But obviously these virtues are not restricted to farm people but may apply equally to a number of newer families who have no roots in the town; these people must prove their worth, to be fully accepted.

As to the other classes in the community, there is no well-defined grouping. But this does not gainsay the sense of difference between them and others. Not everyone is agreed upon just which families are "floaters." These people easily merge into the day laborers who live there more permanently. Among them are the woodsmen, who come and go with the seasons and with the rise and fall of the market. They are felt to be outsiders – as they are. New people who have settled down, whose life is based

upon something more secure than odd jobs of casual employment, are not called floaters. Small farmers who have lived in town for many years, or all their lives, and who work for wages to earn a little extra money, are not considered floaters, though others who live and work as they do are so designated. It is stability, then, that is valued along with ancestry, hard work, and thrift. The man who comes and goes, who owns nothing, who belongs nowhere, is inferior to the settled man.

The class structure of Landaff, then, is rooted in its whole way of life, in the relationship of people to the land. These qualities of the past and the present are essential to the maintenance of people on the land and in the community.

The form of leadership is closely linked to the class structure. Leadership does not denote the demagogue, the agitator, or the overtly aggressive individual "who gets things done." These forms of social dominance are not to be found in this rural community. As is the usual practice in sociology, the term is used here in the broad sense to denote outstanding individuals who hold positions of prestige because they hold offices, provide advice, direct and crystallize public sentiment, and operate the accepted means of social control. Although many informants failed to recognize the pattern of dominance, there is no doubt about its existence in Landaff.

Responses of some of the informants disclosed that many had a narrow idea of the term "leader" or "leadership." They thought of it in terms of obvious public agitation and organization for a specific public purpose. As a young laborer's wife remarked: "There isn't any real leader here, and I never knew of any in the last few years. Besides, it's just as well because folks here all want to do their own way, and they wouldn't want to be led. It seems as if they want everybody to be just the same, no one higher than anybody else, and a leader might get to thinking he was better than the rest." Yet, leadership tends to fall into the larger pattern which appreciates individual attainment, self-reliance, and independence of thought and action. The demagogic or highly organizational aspect of leadership is not understood or appreciated. On the other hand, with regard to advice relationships and the election of particular officers in the local political system or in community organizations, there is a certain loose hierarchy of prestige and importance.

This was true in the past, and though the inhabitants seem to dislike the terms, they indicate that they trust some particular persons as to their counsel and guidance. This negative idea regarding leadership is brought out in the following comments, which indicate the recognition of such a role in the community:

A large farmer: "There are men here in town that do more than the rest in town business, or in the church, so if that's what you mean by leaders, I guess there are some. But they don't really lead anybody or have a lot of influence because folks don't want to have leaders. I've been a town officer for a long time, but I just do my job and tend to my own business, and that's the way the others do."

An old man, retired, once a farmer: "I could name you some men that are the best ones to go to for advice. Maybe you'd call them leaders. But they don't come out and try to make folks do things or get together, they just help when they can, and that's the best way. Sometimes a real energetic man makes a big noise and people pay attention for a while, but it don't last. People can be more free, if they can just do things their own way."

This avoidant response to the kind of person who is often considered a real asset in a community, because he is full of suggestions and plans for improvement or other public activity is brought out by reference to one particular farmer in the community. This man is able, progressive, hard-working, and economically successful. But he would like to see his neighbors organize themselves toward certain individual and general benefits. He is convinced that improvements in farm practice could be brought about through organized effort. Yet though respected as a successful citizen, he has never been elected to any important office in the community. The most common excuse for not giving him a chance for public service is that he is too interested in getting things done along novel lines rather than adhering to the tradition of not imposing one's will on another person. The following comments further indicate the negative reaction to the term "leader" and reveal some of the expected limitations to whatever leadership does appear. One, a person who is certainly a leader in many matters in Landaff, remarked:

"There's no real leader here, you know. Jones might have been once, but I doubt it. He always does what's best for Jones. Smith will never be a leader either, but I can't tell you just why, because he's a good man; there's just some things little towns like this won't do, and they won't make Smith a leader. He can't work with the others. Take Adams, he's no leader, he's an agitator. He's got good ideas, but they don't come to anything. I'll tell you who would make a good leader, if she had more self-confidence, which she hasn't; and that's Miss White. If you have the patience to wait till she says something, you're going to get something good. She knows a lot, and she doesn't give her opinion unless it's asked for, which is the way it ought to be."

Another said: "That's a hard question, about who's a leader here. Of course, we have the Master of the Grange, and the head of the 4-H, but they're just leaders of their own things, and they're elected. Now Father has done a lot for people, and I guess some used to come to him for advice, especially about livestock because he knows a good deal about it. I remember just once Mr. Black (his family and ours don't get along so well, you know) came to him for advice. Now the Browns and us have always helped each other more than we have any other people, but still we don't ask advice much, we are just neighborly. That's the way it is, here, different families help each other, but no one is leader. It takes a crisis of some sort to bring people together, and even then people do pretty much for themselves. Folks here wouldn't want a leader who told them what to do."

Both these informants have at times played leadership roles. The remarks of the former are clearly rationalizations phrased against this person's own rather dominant part in local affairs. The latter, who has one of the best-run dairies, is a progressive farmer who would like to see more dynamic leadership in agricultural affairs. His views apparently represent some regret that there is not more active or aggressive leadership.

It is clear, then, that the leadership pattern in Landaff has reference first to officerships in more or less formal organizations and to certain person-to-person or family-to-person advice. Several individuals fall into the former category – town officials, Grange officers, leaders of various church groups, and of the 4-H Club. In the formal life of the community all of these people may stimulate other people to action. They are the men and women to whom the stranger would be referred for information and who are charged with carrying out certain well-defined duties. Mr. Jones,

or Mr. Smith, or Mr. White, would, if elected moderator, act according to an established method. Whatever action they may instigate is circumscribed by the cultural patterns and they conduct themselves accordingly. There is little, if any, spontaneous leadership outside these limits. Here leadership is a status-man relationship rather than one between man and man, or man and group.

As to the criteria of selection or choice of leaders, there is the general cultural indisposition to assume public position; there are few men of established independence, responsibility, and intelligence to whom such work would be entrusted; and once a man has been elected to a given office he is likely to be chosen again and again, partly because it is a simple way of getting the work done and partly because of the general inertia against altering the old way of doing things. The practices in day-by-day advice usually concern two or three individuals only and these contacts have to do chiefly with farm operation, finance, and personal problems.

It will be worthwhile at this point to see how much agreement there is upon the question of who is leader or prominent in each field, and to see what qualities are considered most essential to such persons. On the basis of the responses of a representative sample consisting of 16 informants, advice relations and then matters of more dynamic leadership in various public matters are considered.

In certain matters only one or two people have the technical knowledge to give counsel. Regarding health, one of the local doctors must be consulted. For advice about government programs, the Chairman of the AAA Committee who acts as agent for the ACP is always consulted. (There is little concern with other new programs; hence, no leader has appeared.) For business counsel, people go to one of two or three men in Lisbon. In matters of farm practice and more intimate person-to-person relations, leadership of a more dynamic and significant sort is somewhat in evidence.

Of the 16 informants, six consulted no one about farming. The names of five people were mentioned by the remaining ten; two of these names were given four times each, two twice, and one once. Certain informants named more than one man. For personal advice, four of these five names were again given, but only by the 5 out of the 16 informants who asked personal advice of anyone.

Reasons given for going to these particular men for advice on farm practices had to do primarily with their technical knowledge. When advice on personal problems was involved integrity and tact were considered most important, the same men were felt to have these distinctly different qualities. Every man who wanted technical advice about farming went to one of the larger farmers, and in certain cases the farmer living close by was consulted. Even so, the two men who were most often asked for advice were visited at times by people who could have obtained counsel from persons nearer at hand.

We cannot assume that this very small number of people necessarily typifies the community in general, but it is a fair inference that they do. Moreover, it is clear that two men are sought more than others in the matter of farming. But no people of Scotland or of the remote parts of the town come to them, for in these districts there is always someone nearby to whom they can go. In short, there is no centralized source of advice, a fact which again reveals the somewhat diffusely-organized community.

Seeking personal counsel is rather rare. Four names are mentioned by five people, and these include the same two men noted above. It is clear that these two persons do have a respected status in all these matters.

We have already noted how class status sets the stage for officership in local politics or in more formal organizations such as the church, the Grange, and 4-H Club, In these matters substantial farm ownership and long residence are the two main general qualifications.

The church is officered by the few who are willing to hold positions in it. The selection of Master and Lecturer in the Grange is based upon certain qualities which the elected people are thought to have. The same is true in town government, though here the choice is distinctly limited. The point of greatest interest, apparently, is the combination of traits that are felt to be necessary to a good leader.

On the basis of 16 informants, each of whom expressed, in order, the three qualities which he or she thought the most important general characteristics of a leader, *tact* is evidently considered to be most important - nine list it first and four second. *Energy* is placed first by five and second by one. *Initiative* is given first place by none and second place by five. Other qualities were mentioned only by one or two people, and third choices are widely varying. For the 16 informants as a group, tact comes first, energy second, and initiative third. *Perseverance* and *power of expression* received little mention. *Resourcefulness* was not noted.

It is characteristic of the town that tact, the ability to understand the problems of others and to get along easily with them, was definitely voted to be the prime quality of institutional leadership. It has been said of the present moderator (who is an excellent example of what a North Country "leader" should be) that he is a fine man for his job, because everybody likes him, because he understands people and knows how to deal with them, because he is honest and completely dependable, and because he does not try to go beyond his rightful sphere of influence, that is, "He don't try to boss people, but he's always ready to help, should anyone want help."

To these people tact means primarily the ability to get on with other people, not to upset or antagonize them. The most tactful leader, then, is the one who is least likely to exert direct pressure on individuals. The aggressive, strong-minded leader is not always the tactful leader; he stirs the emotions by a device which is notably lacking here - the power of expression. Tact here means the ability to deal with people and personal situations in such a way that personal liberty and individualism are not infringed upon.

That energy should be considered second is also in keeping with what we know about these people. It is felt that leaders should be energetic in carrying out their respective duties. Thus the moderator should see that all town business is quickly and efficiently taken care of, while the leader of the Ladies' Aid Society should arrange for dinners and handle them effectively. Diligence and energy are considered definite virtues.

Initiative, the third necessary quality, implies thinking ahead, getting things done, and taking advantage of opportunities rather than the introduction of novel patterns.

In Landaff, then, the leader must be a person who will carry out the duties inherent in his role, but who will not go beyond them. The roles are set up in accordance with the ideas of personal independence, self-reliance, and individualism. In short, the leader must be a man who shows in himself the prime virtues of this culture: self-reliance, respect for others, and independence. The leader of the North Country helps to perpetuate and re-assert the traditional culture. In a sense, he is not prepared to face and solve many impending problems of this community.

There is occasionally other expression of leadership. One woman who, with her husband, bought a farm during the last few years, has recently been active in public-health problems as they concern the school children. She has raised money by barbecues and direct solicitation with which to furnish hot lunches to the school children and to provide the most necessary dental work for those children whose parents cannot afford it. Not all the more established residents fully approve of this somewhat aggressive leadership, but on the whole, this woman has won respect for her efforts for they touch on a deep sentiment regarding the care of children, and the expense is borne without any inroad upon the taxes. Just what her role or that of other newcomers may be in the future if this sort of public interest should be extended is not clear.

A growing part is played by women in town affairs. Besides the Ladies' Aid and the Home Demonstration Club, the leader of the 4-H Club and the Master of the Grange are women. Men are listed as church officers but the women are the active members. Two women hold positions in the town government.

From the statements of old residents it can be assumed that active work by women in the town's formal organizations in the past, was not great. It is interesting that this conservative community should exemplify the scope of women's participation. Women here have more available time and are more willing to undertake certain offices than are their husbands, and people feel that they will take a greater interest in the work; the sum total of community life, with the exception of town government, is becoming more and more the province of women.

Attitudes of the men toward this trend vary. One old man in the town is ready to tell people that "women ought to stay at home and take care of the house. Nowadays they go gallivanting around and buy all their food ready made and don't even tend to their children right. If they have the time to be in a ladies' club, that's all right, but now they're doing all kinds of things that men ought to do. That's not the way it used to be, I'll tell you that."

A small farmer who lives in isolation with his wife and children thinks "women have got so they like to get out all the time. I say if a woman's got time to get away for a while, there's no reason why she shouldn't. But they shouldn't take men's jobs because they aren't suited to that kind of work. Women just aren't as good as men when it comes to running things. Most of them aren't cut out for it."

A well-to-do farmer whose wife is active in several organizations believes "women are just as good leaders as men are, only of course there are some things they can't do so well, same as there are some that men can't do. They can handle people just as well, and they seem to take more interest in clubs and such things. Maybe it's just that men don't care so much any more. Yes, I think they ought to do anything like that they have time for, if they want to. It's just old-fashioned to say they ought to stay home all the time."

Whether women in this community will be capable of meeting the public problems of the next decade remains to be seen. Perhaps the conservatism of men may be offset by woman's courage and originality.

YOUTH AS THE CRITICAL AGE-GROUP IN THE COMMUNITY

Throughout the course of this study the effects of the out-migration of youth have been noted. Not all of the young people who leave go to the city; a few go to other rural areas and more are working in small towns. Figures are not available, but apparently a majority are now employed in the cities.

There is no migration of youth from the city to this community. Children return occasionally to visit their parents. Apparently no person who leaves for the city comes back again to stay except under special circumstances. In Landaff, there were two young men who had worked in towns and were back for a time, but as "floaters." Several of the farmers some years ago worked in towns and one or two in cities for brief periods, but came back out of choice.

It is difficult to know just how the Landaff boys and girls who go to the city adapt themselves to their new environment. Apparently the chief motive in leaving is economic. They want a job which pays well and which demands less hard work than farming. They often go to large cities in search of such advantages, but end in small towns at whatever occupation they can find. Many younger people claim their residence in small towns is "more normal" than life on the farm. Few see any future in agriculture. One man gave up a share in a really good farm and an attractive house of his own for a city job, because he thought that life in the city would be more eventful and city work more profitable.

One young man remarked, "Unless you're lucky enough to be left a good farm with stock and tools and everything to do with, you're licked so far as farming goes. A fellow can't get credit to buy a place, and if he did all he could do would be to keep from starving. Most kids around here have to get out and get a job unless their folks are farming a good deal, and want to hire them to stay. There's a few jobs in the village, but not enough, so a fellow's got to go to a bigger place. That's where the opportunity is, if a man's got it in him to succeed. I'd like to get a job in the city with a regular salary, doing something mechanical, or most anything I could get. Boys I know don't seem to have had much trouble getting jobs, or the girls either."

As so few youths remain there is little in the way of games, parties, or other forms of group activity. It is not unusual to hear young persons say that "nothing much seems to happen here" or "the place is pretty dead" even though they may feel a genuine affection for it. But apparently there never was any expansive association in this community.

One young man of 26 years or so had left for a job in a factory in a small town, and enjoyed it. He said: "I saved money, and I had a nice little place to live in. The work wasn't interesting, but it wasn't awful hard either, not near so hard as farm work or wood cutting. I had to take orders, but I have to here, too; and I just did the same kind of work all the time so I didn't get bossed around much. The best thing was that when I wasn't working my time was my own, and I could go to a show or do

anything I'd a mind to. I'm going to work in a town or in a big city again if I get a chance. I like the country better, but not to work in." (This man lost his job and came back to live here as best he could.)

In a few cases young men have gone to college and then obtained excellent positions. But none of the young men who have gone out from the town in the last few years has done so well, although several now hold good positions in business and industry. It is probably fair to say that although several local youths are employed in low-paying jobs of a more or less temporary kind, almost all are employed in some kind of work and appear to be self-supporting.

It was difficult to learn the extent of financial aid which children who were working away from home gave their parents. Slight help was offered in some instances. A number of small-farm families and of old couples or single men are almost destitute, depending in part upon town aid and the "food truck," although they have grown children elsewhere. Because receiving aid in money is respected as a private matter, the people of the town do not know whether these families are helped by their children or not. Yet the fact that they continue to be town charges or, at least, very poor suggests that they are not.

It is evident that the familial patterns are not conducive to family solidarity. The very independence so highly prized does not serve to bind the individual to his parents and to strengthen the relationships between them. The son in the city is too much concerned with his own problems to worry about those of his parents, particularly when he knows that they can grow much of their food on their own place, and that the town will see to it that they do not lack for either food or shelter.

Most parents believe that it is unfair to expect a return from grown children. A story told by a farm woman who has a son in the city illustrates this point: "I met a woman from the village the other day, who was telling me about how she'd educated her son and all the money she spent on him. She said she spent about $4,000 on him, altogether. Well, that isn't so much, for all those years. Then she told me she had the check stubs for all the checks she gave him, and she was keeping them. Later, when the boy gets a job, she's going to give them to him as fast as he pays her back! She says he's all the insurance she has." And the informant, revealing her own attitude, said further: "Well, isn't that an awful way for a mother to act?"

Most parents understand that their children are unable to put aside anything out of the small sums they earn. If the son or daughter has married in the city, they assume that any savings must be kept for the new family. Even sons who have remained and married in the locality are felt by their parents to be wholly independent unless they share the same farm. There are cases in which the mother and father, on the one hand, and the married son, on the other, buy things from each other and otherwise arrange their relationship on a purely commercial basis. This acknowledged independence of the grown child serves to free the young people from any strong sense of financial obligation to the parents. Thus farm children are not made to feel that they must send money home, and even children of the very poor back-hill families appear to lack much feeling of financial responsibility toward their parents.

Most older people are definite in the opinion that they could never be happy in the city. Men say that the indoor life would affect them adversely if it did not

actually sicken them, and women say that the people in cities are not friendly. But the older people speak only for themselves and not for their children, for they understand that the young people can adapt themselves to the new conditions.

The following typical opinion is voiced by a farmer who has spent his life in the town, and whose son is employed in a big city in New Jersey: "When I was a boy, I used to think that I wanted to be an engineer, or something like that, and work in the city. I thought the life would be kind of exciting, you know, the bright lights and things like that. Well, I decided not to go, or I couldn't go, and it's just as well. I think differently about it now; had some of those ideas knocked out of me. But you can't blame young people for wanting to go, because a lot of them don't have anything to hold them here. I sometimes think that they expect a lot more in the city than they're going to get, and I know some of them whose folks are better off, would do better to stay home. They know they can earn more money in the city than at home, but they forget how much more it's going to cost them to live. Still, it does look as if boys and girls from here have pretty good luck getting jobs. I think it's easier for country people to get work because people feel they can trust them more than the city people. We older people have lived in the country all our lives, and we couldn't ever get along in the city, but the young ones can get used to it, I suppose."

The community thinks well of the young people who get employment elsewhere as soon as they are finished with school. It is considered all right for a boy to leave home for a job unless he takes the place of a paid hand and helps to run the farm. There are only two or three boys who continue to live in the town, doing no real work, but living more or less at the expense of their parents. They are harshly criticized, for it is obvious that they stay not out of affection for the town but out of a wish to avoid work. No stigma is attached to nonfarm work and any job which enables a young man to live decently and to support his wife and children is a good job, and makes him equal to farm operators at home. This does not mean that people do not value highly farm life as such, for they do. The present farmers realize that most of the young men have little to start a farm with a reasonable chance of success. City work is simply the sensible choice of a boy who wishes to be something more than a casual laborer.

Circumstances that make possible the independence of youth from parents make a return to parental protection and support quite impossible. Two young men who have been away to work and have now returned live in their own separate houses. A return to the community itself is viewed with a certain suspicion because people feel that the man who returns, unless he comes home to retire, has shown his inability to "make the grade." During the depression a few young people came home for prolonged visits after having lost their jobs. Apparently they were received with more sympathy than would ordinarily have been given them, since they lost good jobs through no fault of their own. They went back to the city later and appear to have been successful in re-establishing themselves in regular jobs. In a few instances, during the depression, absent sons and daughters were sent butter and eggs and other produce to lessen their living expenses.

Every resident of Landaff is agreed that there is more crime in the locality now than there once was; but every one does not agree that local youth has suffered a moral decline. Increasing crime is generally blamed on the increasing number of outsiders, including tramps, who pass through the area. Several people attribute considerable delinquency to the foreign inhabitants of the area, but others believe that the situation was far worse when the mill was booming many years ago.

As a matter of fact, there is little vice or crime in the community. This may be partly due to the fact that there are so few young people, and that they live alone with their parents; but this is not the only explanation. Moral standards are high in most of the old families, and children are subject to strict supervision until they are well grown. Present controls reflect the longstanding New England moral code in which religion plays some part. The older families maintain an implicit assumption about rectitude which, though informal, tends to keep young people in line. Certain of the "floater" families are less careful in the rearing of their children, but these boys and girls associate at school with farm children and may be assumed to take over some of their attitudes. When they grow older, they may be more susceptible to anti-social influence than are the children of farm families who adhere to old sanctions. Nevertheless isolation and lack of companionship have the effect of keeping them out of mischief.

Of the youths who are now in the township not one drinks heavily, and most of them do not drink at all. Few girls smoke, and none does so outside of their homes or rooms. Gambling does not interest them. One boy from the town is now in prison for a series of offenses, but it is said that he was mentally deranged and the story of his brief career as a criminal seems to substantiate this. One other is sent to jail periodically for minor offenses resulting from occasional drunken sprees; he is considered to be shiftless and "no good," and apparently does not mind his jail sentences since during incarceration he is fed without having to work.

An almost universal belief is that gangster and wild-west movies, favored above all others by local children, have been directly responsible for crimes of violence perpetrated by young boys. Nothing of this sort has ever taken place in Landaff, but there have been cases of shootings, drownings, and hangings in neighboring towns the basis for which has been attributed to movie plots. Despite this feeling, children are not forbidden to attend such pictures, which are generally shown on Saturdays when the children are best able to attend.

Although the traditional New England standards regarding monogamy and sexual fidelity are accepted in practice, there is some deviation from this code. There are several cases of men and women living together without benefit of clergy, and of men and women who have deserted their legal partners for others more attractive to them. There is no reason to assume that this is peculiar to Landaff. The situations are known to everyone and are occasionally discussed. For the most part this condition reflects the social stratification in the community. The people involved are often, though not always, among the "floaters," with the small, semi-isolated farms contributing their share. In general, the well-established families practice the older virtues, and if any of their members become involved in extra-marital difficulties, every effort is made to protect the family from scandal.

It is doubtful that the scattered instances of infraction of the standards are evidences of general social or personal disorganization. Such deviations have not been unknown in New England history. It may be that the very stress on individualism and independence in economic and political matters has some connection with the tolerance of such behavior, especially if the essential solidarity of class or community is not threatened.

VALUE SYSTEM AND ITS SUPPORTING SANCTIONS AND ATTITUDES

At this point it will be well to consider the basic virtues together, to see what makes a man "good" in the eyes of his neighbors. As a type case the attributes and qualities of one who is undoubtedly the best-liked and most-respected man in the community are described briefly.

He is 60 years old, born in the town of one of its oldest families. As a farmer he is respected, though his methods are perhaps slightly more conventional than those of certain younger men. Because his farm is large and extremely well equipped, he seldom has to borrow or ask for help. He is as self-sufficient as any operator in the town. Neighbors describe him in various ways, but none fails to mention three definite traits: that he is honest, that he is tactful for he can get on with anybody and handle personal situations skillfully, and that he is conscientious and energetic. The order of importance of these three was not always the same, and other qualities were mentioned by some informants. His local ancestry and his position in the town were never mentioned as points in his favor; these were taken for granted. Had he been a newcomer, men might have spoken favorably of him, but he would hardly have attained such respect and high status.

Nevertheless very few people said openly that he was *best* liked or *most* respected. We may infer that he is, since he was almost the only man of whom virtually all the people spoke highly. It would not be in accordance with the value system of the community to acknowledge publicly the superiority of any one man. The qualities attributed to this man would never interfere with the rights and interests of others. No matter how independent a man may be, he likes to know that his neighbor is utterly reliable and trustworthy. Tact means here the ability to avoid treading on other people's toes. Energy is admired as a necessary adjunct of status; it is the opposite of shiftlessness. Of equal importance is the virtue of minding one's own business. The man who stays at home, works hard, and attends to his own affairs is a man who will never be subject to severe criticism regardless of how he may err in any ordinary way.

The establishment and continuance of a solid and durable relationship to a given place and to the community is considered a virtue. Men think they should own and control what they have and tend to distrust speculation and expansion made possible by borrowed money. Occasionally a few farmers have speculated with their extra money, but always on a small scale and never with the money necessary for living. Gambling in any form is criticized as incautious and foolish, and indebtedness is to be scrupulously avoided, endangering as it does the independence of the individual and the maintenance of his position on the land and in the community. It is often said of a person that "he can do as he likes, for he don't owe anybody."

Independence and individualism are the basic virtues on which these other qualities rest. An example of the respect which self-sufficiency obtains is that of a farmer who came into the community recently and bought one of the good farms lying some distance from the center. With only a little help he has operated on a considerable scale and improved the place. He was asked to join the Grange and he refused. Neither he nor his wife interest themselves in the community or take part in its activities. They have met a few families in town and have found them friendly and pleasant. All this would not be unusual if the man were a mill worker or a woodsman; but he is a farmer, with a background similar to that of the old families. Most of the established

farmers inherited their places, but the fact that as a youth he saved money with which to buy a place provides him an established status. Everyone knows that this man works hard, pays his bills, stays at home, and gets along without help from anyone. That he is not interested in the community is unfortunate, but, as a man, he is still to be respected. This basic quality, in other words, is held to be more important (if this example is valid) than mere participation in community life.

There is a neat balance of rights and duties among individuals and families, but there is little of the sense of intense in-group solidarity. The community is not a highly-integrated order. Its continuance and stability rest upon particular organizations so constituted that they contribute to the lives of the people without demanding much sacrifice of the fundamental virtues of independence and self-determination.

The nature and direction of social control in Landaff reflect the basic values. Certain expected standards of conduct serve to maintain human contacts in an orderly fashion, but intensive public sentiment seldom arises with reference to situations which, though deviant, do not seem to disturb the basic system. If, for instance, a floater abused his wife, and let his children go undernourished, the effect of public opinion toward altering this situation would be practically nil. The floater would not care what local farmers thought of him because he would not have to see or deal with them. They, in turn, would speak of the man as being mean and contemptible (if, indeed, they knew of the situation) but would think nothing could be done about it and that, as long as the man kept to himself, it was none of their business. It is not surprising that underprivileged people of little means and no fixed employment should be more often guilty of breaking local taboos and failing to conform to local sanctions. Some of these people can hardly be said to be members of the community, though others who have lived here for many years cannot be so dismissed.

The social controls operative among the thirty-odd families who concern themselves to some extent with the community life fall into certain generally-accepted categories. The sanctions are built around the virtues mentioned. It may be that the decline in population and in the economic resources has altered the extent and form of many sanctions. At one time participation in community life was more common than it is now. But without a full cultural history of the town, the alterations that have occurred in the social sanctions are not known.

At the time of its greatest local development the church was probably an influential means of social control. Respectable people felt and were made to feel, that attendance at sermons was necessary and that the rules of the church were the rules of life. This is no longer true. Because so few people interest themselves in the formal aspect of religion, church participation is not a criterion of social acceptability.

Taboos are still there, and they are more numerous than sanctions so that the effect of the total system of controls upon the individual is negative rather than positive. Women must not smoke or drink, for instance; these are traditional taboos, and still exist because it is easy for daughters of old families to observe them. There are women in the town whose smoking is criticized, but this fact would not prevent them from being acceptable as members of the town's organizations. It is felt that they are not acting as they should – not as North-Country women generally act – yet such conduct is considered their own affair.

Men are comparatively free from such restrictions. All excesses would be criticized, but they may smoke, or drink or gamble in moderation. Few indulge in any of these things to a great extent. Immoderate behavior of any kind is controllable by the community only so long as the individual himself is concerned about the opinions other people have of him. There is no way in which actions may be curbed or prevented, and if anyone should try to do so he would himself be open to criticism. This point was made in connection with the floating population and their situation in the community, but it is no less true of the farm people, the only difference being that the latter, permanently established in the town, are more anxious to be respected.

The words of an elderly woman who has a real place in town affairs exemplify this subtle and confusing issue: "Neighbors don't bother you, here. Folks can do what they like, just so they don't harm anyone and do mind their own business. Nobody tries to make people do various things, the way they do in other places; that is, if a person doesn't go to church or to Grange, why, that's his own affair. He doesn't make so many friends, but there are men that like to be alone anyway. If a man does mean things, and won't help people or be a good neighbor, people don't think much of him, but they don't do anything to him, either; we're pretty tolerant here, you know. There are certain ways of doing things that folks like, and the ones that want to be well thought of try to do like that - partly, anyhow. We don't think women ought to smoke, though I must say it doesn't bother me any, and we don't like folks to drink a lot. Good people should be helpful and friendly, and they shouldn't ask too much of others. They ought to take some interest in the community, maybe belong to something or other, or maybe just help support the church or give food for the suppers at the Center - anything like that. You don't expect men to bother so much with community things, for they don't have the time, but still they can take some interest in it, and some of them do. Our clubs are small, you know, and we take in most anybody. Have to, to keep them going. If you chose just the ones that acted just right and never did anything different, you wouldn't have any members.

"There isn't any way that we could stop some folks from doing bad things, even if we wanted to. Houses are scattered and you don't see people often; and it wouldn't help matters to go up and tell a man off, unless everybody else did the same thing, which they wouldn't. You'll notice that even people that don't like each other much are polite when they meet, because they have to live together in this little town and it's better not to make enemies. I guess you might say that all we expect of a person is that he sticks to his own affairs and doesn't interfere with other people."

The decline of the community and the impact of the outside world have dissolved not only church sanctions but even informal ones. The growing impingement of the outside world on the community has supplied individuals with more to choose from, more types of specific behavior to approve or disapprove. As the range of choice grows, differences of opinion, permitted by the very nature of the society, become more numerous. In the early years, as visiting was one of the few sources of change and pleasure available to all, it had the approval of virtually everyone. Now, while it is still considered a pleasant pastime, many find driving, listening to the radio, or going to the movies more enjoyable. Probably no social pressure was brought to bear against the individual who did not visit when visiting was the accepted thing, but he would be thought unusual and different; and, if he did not wish to be considered odd, such an attitude would constitute a form of social pressure. But when other choices arose, standards were altered, and such conduct was not expected as evidence of stable citizenship.

This has happened in other phases of community activity, as well. As they have lost in importance, individual freedom has grown, even freedom to leave the community without fear of censure. Because there is choice, and choice is permitted, particular and definite *mores* which set the community off from other communities and give it a distinctive quality are growing less numerous.

INTEGRATION AND CONFLICTS

There are few evidences of conflict in Landaff in the sense of more-or-less organized factions. The high value placed on individualism does not easily induce group antagonism, for factions can exist only when a group of people, feeling that they are being hurt or at least affected by a situation, band together in opposition. The way of life of the newcomers is not the way of life of the established farm families; but the one does not affect the other sufficiently to give rise to conflict. The individual's role and status, his allegiance to the community and its interests varies chiefly with his age, background, group status, and length of residence.

There is no organized conflict regarding change, new farming practices, or new community activities. Occasionally person-to-person conflicts arise. Thus, in a few families the grown son and his father are in constant opposition as to ways of farming and even as to some ways of living; but this is not usual for parents are generally tolerant of their children's wishes.

The lack of opportunity for economic security and for future improvement on the part of many individuals induces internal, or what may be called mental, conflicts. The very individualism sets the stage for this sort of distress and personal anxiety. Such conflicts are evident both in certain farmers and in many young people. One hears occasionally of farmers, especially those not well situated, who would like to go to the city; in conversation and occasional hints, considerable anxiety is evident in these people. The matter is more obvious and more openly expressed on the part of the youth. It is common for boys who have attended high school and then returned home to find no chance to become farmers in the locality. Many girls likewise feel considerable frustration because of the poor prospects ahead of them.

For some young people, this is not a problem. Their parents are too poor to support them, and the farm, if they own one, is incapable of success. Moreover, their home life does not make the prospect of staying on an attractive one. Thus, their leaving is not marked by any internal conflict. For children whose parents own paying farms and who were themselves born in the town, the situation is more serious. They like the farm life, and they value their relationship with their parents and other people in the community. Yet the fact that they have been brought up to hope for a good life and to work hard to attain independence often forces them from home. Some who have gone could have stayed, for there are farms that not only can support an extra family but would be more efficiently run by two families. But in such cases the young people have felt that they owed it to themselves to go where there was greater chance for advancement.

It must not be presumed that the youth leave against their will, for many regard Landaff as "dead." Yet it is possible for them to hunger for the city and at the same time fear the act of leaving home. There is a time of indecision and uncertainty that

is a clear result of this conflict. After a time, the conflict ceases, for the youth who decides to stay must establish himself in a home and put aside thoughts of city life. The choice, once made, can be reversed only with great difficulty.

Many young people in the town are in a state of indecision, and some have been so for months, and even years. One young girl lives with her family on a large farm. As she is now out of school, it is her duty to do what she can to support herself. Therefore about a year ago she began to work as a maid and waitress in private homes not far away. Almost regularly she quits her job, whatever it may be, and comes home only to take another job 2 or 3 weeks later. Apparently she feels that she must not stay at home, and yet cannot stay away for any length of time.

Some of the boys who have finished or have dropped out of high school are unsettled. They live at home, help with the work, and do anything they can to earn a little money. They are undecided as to their plans and do not wish to settle down until they feel certain of their judgment. Some are inclined to stay at home if it seems reasonable, and others are waiting for some opportunity to go to the city or town. For most, the conflict will end shortly; but some, unable to resign themselves to the life here and unwilling to go without money or prospects, will probably become "floaters" in the sense that their position in the community will never be a solid and lasting one.

Every person living in the community, except the woodsmen who are in to do definite jobs and who will leave when they have finished, identifies himself with it. Should one ask each in turn where he or she is from, or to what town he or she belongs, the answer would be "Landaff." But the answer depends somewhat on where the person is at the time he is asked; for instance, if one should ask a stranger (who happened to be a Landaff man) where he lived, and if the man were in the town building at the Center at the moment he would not say Landaff, but "Scotland" or "Jockey Hill" or some district within the township.

Because homes are so widely scattered, these district names are much in evidence. In telephoning to a storekeeper in the village, a housewife would say "This is Mrs. Jones, on Jockey Hill" and would not use the name of the town. But these districts do not have unity from a sociological viewpoint. Jockey Hill is distinguished from the rest because of better homes, but it is not a separate community. In each part of the town where houses are reasonably close together, children play more with their neighbors than with others, but beyond this there are no symptoms of special relationships within the named districts. They are neighborhoods only in a very loose sense.

Even the non-permanent residents claim this town as their home but it does not follow that they think highly of it. Their associations within the community are negligible, and they are prepared to leave at any time it should seem advisable. The several retired people came into the town because of a certain house or a certain locality within it. They like the place, think it has some advantages, but have no strong feeling of loyalty to it although they intend to live here for the rest of their lives.

The farm people, born and brought up in Landaff, take pride in its qualities and identify themselves with it not only as an area but as a community. They admit that

there are disadvantages connected with their lives, or that certain conditions are not all that might be wished. Some were hard put to it to find a reason for their belief that this town is superior to others nearby, but they believe this to be true.

One says: "This is a good place to live. The land is better than in most places around, and the roads are pretty good. Most people here are friendly, and they stick to their own affairs. I wouldn't ever want to leave, because I was born in this house and my folks have been here for more than a hundred years."

Another says: "We have a nice community here. Of course, there are a good many people in the town that don't care about the Grange or anything else, but just stay at home, but there are some that like to be in the organizations. Maybe we're not very community-minded, but folks do say that our Grange is a good one, and that visitors have a nice time here. You won't find many towns where folks are so friendly, once they get to know you."

Still another: "People in Landaff aren't public-spirited. They have to stay at home most of the time and they have work enough to keep up their own places without trying to improve the community. I like it here as well as anywhere else, and better, because I was born here; but with times like these you could buy most any house in town for the right price. Well, some might not want to sell, but I know a lot would. If they sold, they wouldn't want to go away very far, but they might move to Lisbon where the stores are handy. I'd rather stay on this farm than go, but I have to work too hard to make ends meet, and I imagine I'd sell if anyone offered me a fair price, which won't ever happen."

There is a difference between the accounts given of the town to strangers and to local people who know what the conditions are. These three people would have praised the community more highly had they been speaking to someone whom they did not know or who was only casually interested. Before a stranger, they would think of themselves as Landaff people, as members of a group, and would set themselves off against him, an outsider. His strangeness would have the effect of strengthening their feeling of belonging, and they would stress the good features of that to which they belonged. But this identification with the community lies within the strong individualistic pattern. There is little of the deeper attachment to the group or collectivity which may be found in highly integrated communities in which cooperation is more evident, or in which non-economic values serve to support community spirit and participation.

Apart from the attitude each person may have toward the people with whom he is associated there is the feeling he may have toward the land itself. Here, this is a strong feeling among those who own; who were born and reared on a particular farm. A farmer in Landaff feels himself to be as well oriented toward this land and this home as toward the rest of the community. For the newcomers, (except in the case of the summer residents and the two city-bred families who have come to Landaff to live) this does not hold, as their homes are poorer and their land less fertile; and because they bought or rented this land in the hopes that it might support them, their attitude toward it is not that of a farmer toward the place he has inherited.

An interesting sidelight is thrown on community solidarity in the attitudes of Landaff residents toward the people and community of Lisbon. The people of Landaff are not village people; all have friends in Lisbon and go there often (sometimes daily) to

shop; but they feel that these friends and acquaintances are different, in a way. There is almost no visiting between Landaff and Lisbon people, and the former feel strongly that their community is in no sense whatever a part of Lisbon. In school plays, farm children are rarely given parts. When Landaff Grangers go to visit the Lisbon Grange they sit together and are more unified than when they are at home in their own Grange.

If the "floaters" of Landaff, who have no feeling of allegiance to the town, do not belong to Lisbon groups it is because they are not interested in them. The membership of the community's organizations is drawn almost entirely from families of long residence and largely from farm families. These people have stayed in the town through preference, and the only community activity that interests them is the community activity of their homes. It cannot be argued that the Landaff people feel no ties to their locality because they value individual independence above what is generally thought of as a well-integrated community. In spite of the stress on independence and the persistent emigration, there is a positive feeling toward the community on the part of those who do remain and who do belong.

At present, when Landaff's districts are simply geographical and have no distinctive social life of their own, each person belongs first to a family and then to the community - with the exception of those who do not concern themselves with local people or institutions. At one period in the town's history the Scotland district, now containing only eight or nine families (two or three of whom are woodsmen in camps), had all the characteristics of a true neighborhood. An informal discussion club met regularly, and people often did things together and stopped often at each other's homes. Now, with fewer and different people, these customs no longer exist. At that time, Scotland families identified themselves with the whole community, but took pride in their own neighborhood as well.

Whether this was true in other parts of the township at that time is not known. Certainly there was more interaction among members of each district than is to be found today, and possibly other informal organizations sprang up; for the center was far more inaccessible in the days of horse-drawn vehicles than it is now. It is probable that, within the community, there were several rather definite groupings of the neighborhood variety. Today, there is none.

The extent to which this now undivided community considers itself an in-group as contrasted to the surrounding out-group bears upon the matter of stability and integration. The facts of the case are these: (1) outsiders come and go fairly steadily, and have been doing so for at least 40 or 50 years, (2) the proportion of old families is growing smaller, and (3) newcomers are not conceded to be Landaff people until they have lived in the town for many years.

It is not to be imagined that the town has lost all of its former *esprit de corps*. Formerly, the farm people accepted the newcomers as residents of the same town, but did not acknowledge them as local people; at present, newcomers may join the town's organizations, but that does not imply that these new members would be considered Landaff people. Further, it must be borne in mind that probably such people were not readily accepted when the town's population was large enough to keep up an adequate membership drawn from local families. One hears such things as: "Oh, he isn't a Landaff man. He only came here 10 or 12 years ago," or, "I came here 40 years ago, but of course I'm not really a Landaff person. My home town is over in Vermont."

Yet there is no clear-cut division between the old families and the more recent ones, and not all people are agreed on how long a man must live in the town to become a part of it. Background and competence also count. For instance, a new family has been quickly accepted because the man was born and reared in a neighboring hill town (a rural township, not a village) and the wife is related to a family which once lived here. Old families, now in a minority, have a feeling of kinship with other old families of their acquaintance whether they live in Landaff or not.

Apparently, then, in-group versus out-group attitudes exist to some extent so far as the community is concerned and so far as a "kind" of people is concerned. This last cuts across town lines and community lines far more than it once did, since transportation permits association with distant families. This attitude can exist apart from ordinary contact patterns, for it is rare that farmers of one town meet and talk with farmers of another. Nevertheless, a man who has lived for 50 or 60 years in Landaff may know other farmers for miles around. They are his kind of people.

The in-group sentiments of the community rest largely on class status and on the relations of specific individuals to each other. The fundamental attitude of the people who feel themselves to be, and who actually are, the community, may be stated in these words: "We are Landaff people. This township is ours, and we govern it and run its institutions. Many of us are related to each other. We are hill-country farmers, just like other families around in all these towns, but we belong to this town, and they belong to their towns. A lot of people are coming here that aren't like the old folks. They don't belong, and they don't want to belong; they just live here, and then, after a while, they go away and others come. The people in the village and from the towns are a different kind of people; some city people have settled here, and they're good people even if they are different. We like to have them belong to the community if they take an interest in it, even though they're not like us farmers."

No conflicts exist between farm people and other people, or between the people of one community and another. If the old farm families feel themselves to have a group status which newcomers will never attain, at least they are tolerant and are willing to accept them. Certain individuals, as everywhere, resent the changes brought by outsiders and object to their strange standards and customs; but the local tradition, stressing personal freedom, makes for tolerance along almost every line. A North-Country farmer knows that he would be unhappy in the city but he knows that his son can adapt himself to city ways so he cannot attribute too great a significance to the difference between him and his neighbors and other people. His way of life is not in need of being defended from attacks or criticisms by outsiders. An individualist, he is not surprised that others should think differently and, because he and his neighbors do not all think alike, they cannot and do not wish to unite against the outsider.

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IMPACT OF THE OUTSIDE WORLD UPON LANDAFF

Landaff began to feel the effects of outside forces as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. The major aspects of these changes have been discussed. Relatively few new ways have been introduced in recent years, but changes initiated in the past have been accelerated by improvements in transportation and communication. The economic life of the community is based upon the demands and requirements of a particular part of the outside world and the social life is to some extent in competition with new ideas and methods deriving from other ways of life. Yet, on the whole, the impact of the outside world has not, as yet, been extensive nor profound.

AGRICULTURAL ASPECTS OF CHANGE

The coming of commercialization, first evidence of the influence upon this community of the outside world, occasioned more change and readjustment than did any other single factor. Until industrial development elsewhere created a demand and a market for what the farmers in this region could produce, the original self-sufficiency continued more or less unchanged. During this early period goods were traded and occasionally sold, but the life of the individual family depended upon home production for home consumption.

As we have seen, sheep raising in New England developed after the textile mills, equipped with new power machinery and protected by the tariff of 1828, began their rapid expansion in 1830. Sheep since earliest times had been there in limited numbers. Before 1830 wool was used largely for home manufacture, although the native flannel was sometimes sold or traded. By 1835, it is said that wool was the most profitable crop in the Northeast. Improved transportation was responsible for a decline in home manufacture in New England even then. Landaff, being more isolated and unaffected by railroad developments until the 1850's, took up sheep raising on a large scale rather gradually. The people were slower to give up spinning and weaving at home than those more exposed to the commercial market.

Between 1830 and 1860, commercialization became increasingly evident. Although the ways of self-sufficiency were maintained, money became more important as the market reached these remote communities. The sheep business declined in the Eastern States after 1840, because Western breeders could raise their animals for less; but frontier communities like Landaff shared with the West some of the factors making for cheap production and were less strongly affected by competition than were communities in central New England.

Commercialization had not seriously affected the Landaff community in any real sense before 1850 although certain aspects of family self-sufficiency were altered, as a fair number of household articles could now be bought rather than made. Although it is impossible to discover the exact facts regarding Landaff before the coming of the

railroad, we may reasonably assume that individual and community life continued as it had since the early years; families existed more or less independently of each other, visiting and working together when they could. Cooperation on particular kinds of work was common. People were pretty much of a kind, and wealth and property were still fairly evenly distributed. Such formal organizations as were considered necessary had been long established, and membership had increased steadily. Individuals lived and worked for themselves and for their families, yet took an interest in their neighbors and in the community. The money that could be obtained through the sale of flannel, wool, meat, or dairy products made life a little less severe, but it brought no fundamental changes. Nevertheless, it was in these years that men began to farm for the market, first began to move in the direction of a money economy which would in time affect their whole way of life and their stability and integration as a group.

The coming of the railroad in 1854 did not create a sudden or dramatic change, but made possible a definite acceleration in the process of commercialization. More farm produce could be sold and factories could be established. The population, fairly stable since 1830, increased during this decade, evidently as a direct result of the increasing opportunity for making money. This growth made possible a store and a sawmill. Money was not hard to get, although great wealth was unknown. In 1860 and the years of the Civil War, the price of wool and of fine Merino sheep rose tremendously, as there was little or no cotton to be had. Landaff benefited from this as did all New England. These years were undoubtedly the most profitable in the history of the township.

With this recrudescence of the sheep industry came the first attempt at real specialization. Facts are not available, but it appears that a number of operators concentrated upon the production of wool and from their profits made capital investments in further purchase of land. Although home gardens and home manufacture of certain goods were not discontinued, to a large extent these men accepted the standards of the market. Farming-for-money on a larger scale resulting from the sheep boom brought about changes in the very nature of the community. Certain men become much richer than others and owned more land and better buildings. Informal cooperation could no longer exist in the old, unqualified way. Well-to-do farmers were now able to hire farmers who had less, and labor began to assume a cash value. On the other hand, the poorer farmers were no longer in a position to request aid from others and they had no funds to hire help.

The end of the Civil War saw the collapse of the wool market. Manufacturers, anticipating the tariff of 1867, imported heavily. Army woolens were a drag on the market for years. World wool production increased, and better transportation opened up the far West for the sheepmen. Thousands of New Hampshire sheep were sold down-country for mutton, though many of the more northerly towns continued to raise sheep until 1870 or 1880. In other words, the agricultural technique upon which the now well-developed commercialization had been based was obviously breaking down. A short-lived stability was in danger of a serious breakdown.

Let us pause at this point to see how commercialization affected the value system and social order of these people. The fact that the fundamental value system was (and is) based upon the concept of personal freedom and independence made possible a transition to certain new ideas and practices associated with commercialization.

Yet the shift to other contacts with the outside was not accomplished without some alteration in the social order and in the attitudes and values of individuals. Among the first effects was the evidence of status differences. Wealth came to have a social importance - to be considered a standard and a criterion of success. Commercialization brought about paid labor, so that the man who worked for others was considered a little less able and less important than the man who did not. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of the people that no stigma was attached to work for pay if the worker was a young man, as a means to eventual independence but an older man who worked for wages was obviously not going to become an owner and so was considered to be less independent, less thrifty, and possibly less intelligent than the rest.

The form and character of the formal organizations apparently did not change much during this time. Probably they were controlled by men of position, better homes and larger incomes, and the officers probably tended to be individuals of higher socio-economic status.

To some extent the rapid depopulation that followed the Civil War can be laid to commercialization. Many farmers had become dependent on markets in the good years and with the decline of the market they began to go elsewhere. Commercialization had made possible a higher standard of living and enterprising men left the community to find it elsewhere. This, in turn, weakened institutional patterns of the church, the family, and other groups. Their membership became less predictable, moving away became more common, and community solidarity declined.

From the end of the Civil War until the present, Landaff has diminished in population. During this entire period the people have been trying to discover a sound commercial basis upon which to found their living. New opportunities arose in the late 1860's when lumbering began on a commercial basis. Besides small sawmills and bobbin mills, starch factories developed and, a little later, cider mills. The railroad could take the produce to market, and for a time there was fair degree of prosperity. But within a few years, these profitable little industries were reduced as a result of the great panic of 1873, and they did not recover and grow numerous again until the end of the century.

Throughout the last third of the century most of the Landaff residents farmed for a living. But the farms varied considerably as to size, crops, and income, for no one kind of farming had emerged which permitted profitable specialization. Unlike the Massachusetts farmers, these people never experienced a time of profitable grain farming.

It became apparent that this drift toward commercialization would not solve the local problem of population pressure on the resources. The inhabitants came to accept the fact that there would be a certain loss of population. For those who remained, any attempts at differentiation in farming, with an eye to survival, was met with a certain respect. But all through this period self-sufficiency remained the solid backlog of economic security, as did a continued sense of independence and self-reliance. The extent to which a farmer might try to commercialize his operations came to be accepted as a matter of individual choice. If a farmer succeeded, credit was due him. If he failed, he had little choice but to leave and he was not blamed.

This general pattern, established by 1875 or 1880, has persisted with slight changes. Methods and techniques have been altered, times have been good and bad in turn, and dairying has emerged as the best and perhaps the only commercial possibility.

Nevertheless the effect of commercialization on this community, visible over half a century ago, has undergone almost no qualitative change except where particular practices are concerned. Perhaps the farmer has become a better businessman, and he has made whatever modifications seemed necessary in his farming and in his dealings with the outside world. Still, money has not come to mean more, socially, than it had long ago when it first became necessary. The maintenance of a plain but adequate level of living, of a certain relationship with other families, and of a secure establishment on the land remain the aims of the farm families, and the degree of attainment is still the measure by which men are to be judged.

In summarization, it can be said that, although commercialization has been largely responsible for the steady depopulation of the community, ithas failed to break down the mass of local attitudes and values among those individuals who have remained at home. Those who have not gone are men who have been able to maintain what seems to them an adequate standard of living through their milk and lumber business. A few are prosperous enough to meet the levels of wealthier farming areas. Others are satisfied with what they have because it permits them to stay at home.

Actually, of course, successful adjustment in Landaff has become rather closely associated with commercialized farming. We have already described the restlessness among the young people who are torn between their wish to remain and the necessity of going elsewhere in order to make a living. But the shift from almost complete self-sufficiency to an almost complete dependence on the outside market has not too greatly altered the relations of individuals nor the characteristic social patterns of the community.

The reason is not hard to find. Independence and self-reliance are virtues which fit into the practices and ideologies of the market and money economy. It was possible here to continue a great deal of self-sufficient agriculture parallel with commercialization; no such combination of the old with the new is found in the cotton South or the Corn or Wheat Belts of the Middle West. The virtues of self-dependency remain strongly entrenched.

In Landaff, farmers produce for home consumption along with their dairying for the market. The farm wife who buys most of the family's food, or the farmer who cannot repair his own machinery and pays others to do so, is likely to be criticized for a greater-than-average dependence upon the outside market.

Economic crises were met by attempts to adopt the commercial patterns from the outside. Yet in so doing the full impact of this outside world, as evidenced in other agricultural regions, has never been felt here. Former economic and social stability has been shaken by the fact that the resources could not support the growing population, but in the effort to meet these problems a certain balance between the old and the new has been struck. Just how long this balance will be maintained remains to be seen.

On this rough steep land few of the larger and more complex types of farm machinery can be used. Therefore, the effect of mechanization upon the lives of these farmers has been very slight. In Landaff, the three operators who use tractors must also keep teams to work the land their tractors cannot plow or harrow. New machines have not been used until their value was well established, for conservatism, made men slow to alter their habits.

Nevertheless, at present all of the larger farms are as fully mechanized as their size and character permit. Some are over-mechanized in that their equipment includes machines whose period of usefulness during the course of any given year is limited to a few days.

There is considerable variation in the extent to which machinery in general is accepted by individuals. The kind and number of machines in use depend upon the nature of the farming practices. Thus, one large farmer who has done everything he could to mechanize his place says: "I have two tractors on this farm, and they save me a lot of time and work. I have a power takeoff on one that will work my saws and grind my grain, and I can use them in the woods or on the fields. Some men don't like tractors, but then most have farms that are too small to make them worth while. Then no one around here can afford to use complicated machinery if they have to hire mechanics to fix anything that goes wrong. Now my son and I can fix nearly every trouble we have, so we don't have such expenses. I'd like to have any kind of machine in the house or on the land that I know would save money in the long run, and maybe a few that would just save some work, like the washing machine in the house. I've got to admit that I may have some machinery that hasn't paid for itself, because I like machines and always have. I like to use them and work on them. For the most part I think they've saved me money. You can't use near as much machinery here as in the West, and some places you can't use anything, but a plow, rake, and mowing machine. But I think it's worth while to use all the machinery you can because it's the only way to make these farms pay. Of course, my wife doesn't like machinery and never has."

Another man, one who operates a small subsistence farm and works on the road to earn a little cash says: "I have no tractor because I couldn't use one on this place. Some men get machines just the same, as you've seen, but they waste money. I don't even have a car or a power engine, and I figure I can get along without them. But I have nothing against machinery, you understand. I should want a tractor and all the tools I could use if I had a big, level farm. With a tractor, it doesn't matter if it's hot or cold, and it doesn't eat when it isn't working. I'd rather work with machines, because it's easier. Some folks are sort of old-fashioned, they don't trust machinery - like one old man who thinks a horse-rake tears up the grass roots. But there aren't many like that any more.

"You can't be a successful farmer just by using machinery, but the more you can use, the better off you'll be; these big machines they use in the West put men out of work, but you can't blame folks for using them. It's every man for himself."

A third operator who runs a dairy farm of more than 30 head of stock says: "People waste more money on machines than anything else. These farms aren't suited to them - they have to be worked in the old way. I use my team all the time and I don't want any tractor. Things like hay loaders and side-delivery rakes aren't as good as they say they are. You can do the same work by hand, if you're a good worker. Most farmers have electric milking machines, but my son and I milk all these cows by hand. It saves money. If people did more work and didn't spend all their money on cars and machines, they'd be better off."

In Landaff every farm which is well supplied with machinery has several modern devices in the home as well. Mere gadgets are not popular, but refrigerators, washing machines, efficient plumbing, and central heating plants are highly approved. A few farm people, chiefly women, believe machinery to be bad, dangerous, or destructive.

There are no striking differences between the attitudes of farm and nonfarm people respecting mechanization. But most of the latter are too poor to afford modern home devices. As a group, they fully accept the value of mechanization of any kind, though many believe that it has no place in the North Country. One mill worker believed that most of the depressed economic life of the community arose from the fact that the farmers could not compete with mechanized farming in the level country of the South and West. None of the nonfarm people had the concrete appreciation of mechanization that the farmer had who owns and uses machines every day.

All in all, it would appear that this part of New England has accepted mechanization as fully as possible, but that no strikingly new situations have been brought about since this acceptance did not alter the nature of the basic man-land relationship. Machinery or no, each farmer still has heavy work to do. Such things as hay loaders and tractors have little effect upon the demand for hired help. The man who owns a tractor may work faster and may cover more acres than the man who uses a team, but the important point is that each man does his work himself.

The comparatively slight degree of mechanization has somewhat increased the independence of the individual family. Earlier, certain kinds of work were done with the help of others; later, there was a good deal of "changing work." Today, men who can do all their own work still "change work" occasionally, but it is not necessary. Machines have actually enhanced the individualistic patterns.

The impact of Federal agricultural programs on this community has been considerably limited. Against the background of traditional self-reliance, independence, and individualism, we might well expect little or no acceptance of the new planning. Moreover, New England had from the outset less stake in the Federal agricultural programs than did the areas of large-scale commercialized farming such as cotton, tobacco, wheat, and corn. Attitudes and practices found in Landaff are discussed here with reference to the actual experience with particular Federal agencies and with reference to opinions about other Federal programs which have not directly impinged on the community.

The one important Federal program operative in Landaff is the Agricultural Conservation Program which makes lime and phosphates available. Some farmers consider the program well-organized and efficiently-operated. Others claim that they are paying for the benefits received in rising taxes. Still others agree that they benefit from this governmental help, but feel strongly that the situation would be far better if farm income and prices in general were such that they could afford to buy their own fertilizer and use it as they might decide. They resent any feeling of obligation toward a Government without whose aid, they feel, they have so far managed to make out.

In general, it is not difficult to anticipate the attitude toward Government intervention in agriculture in a community where self-sufficiency and independence have always been of primary importance. Many people feel that they could do without any governmental programs. Some individuals claim that the sum total of governmental work in the region has been without value, and others are inclined to believe that benefits have not been sufficient to make the programs worth continuing. At the same time, it is generally contended that too much is allotted to the Midwest and to the South. It is felt that more attention should be paid to the problems of New England and that the Government should attempt to make fairer prices obtainable to the northern farmer, but that it should leave him to his own devices so far as his living and farming go. The

feeling is expressed that technical information should be made available to those who want it, but no programs should be imposed from the outside.

The following statements of two men about the Government and its programs represent the range of variation in the attitudes of the community. Both are well-established farmers. In the community, many more would agree with the first than with the second.

"The Government hasn't done us much good here. The ACP is pretty good, but we have to pay taxes to help finance farm programs that only help the Middle West or the South. Folks here can look after themselves. They're not like farmers in some other places, and we'd be better off if the Government didn't help us or charge us for what they do.

"The Government is trying to tell farmers what to do now, and that isn't right. Farmers are independent people, at least in New England, and no one has any business trying to make them go one way or the other. If they could help us without interfering, like if they could help us get a fair price for our milk, that would be a great thing. But they don't think about us up here, and what they do does us more harm than good."

The second farmer says: "The Government hasn't really done as much harm here as people like to say it has. The ACP has been fine; the farm loans would probably be all right if farmers were better businessmen, and I don't see that the WPA has made labor much harder to get. The CCC and NYA and the rest have done more good than harm, too. I don't think it's fair that we should be taxed for farm programs designed for the Mid-west, but outside of that I haven't any objections. Of course, the Government ought not to try to tell farmers what to do, but as long as they stop short of that, anything they do is all right. It's more important, though, that they control foreign trade and markets and so on, so that we're protected, than that they actually come in here with programs that most people won't accept. Now that we depend on selling to the Boston market, we've got to understand more about conditions in other places. People can't be too independent now, so far as selling and raising and buying go. No, the Government has to step in sometimes, and people ought to try to understand why it does, instead of just trying to go on in the old way. Maybe it can help and maybe not, but with things going on as they are now, anything's worth a try, at least."

The question of public poor relief is important, and, though not a Federal program, it may be discussed at this point. In contrast to the various Federal programs, relief has certainly had its effect upon the town. Originally, the town took care of its own poor, and many believe that it should still do so, without interference from the county and State.

No farm people are on relief, but several floaters are, - some "on the town," others dependent on outside agencies. The children of some old people have neglected to support them on the theory that the town would have to furnish relief. This has put the more responsible citizens to a needless expense. There is a widespread belief among these citizens that relief as now handled is in part responsible for the presence of some of the nonfarm element. It is believed that these families are exploiting the community - a practice they regard as not easy to accomplish under the former system when the selectmen could insist on the poor doing certain work.

NONAGRICULTURAL ASPECTS

Many villages in the White Mountains have been kept alive by the influx of people from the cities. In some communities, this has been going on for 50 years. As might be expected, many of the people of these towns have become increasingly cosmopolitan in their attitudes and have been quicker to accept new ideas and customs. By the same token, they have lost some of their local "esprit de corps."

This has not happened in Landaff. The city has affected only the young and, to some extent, the nonfarm people. Moreover, this influence has been voluntarily accepted by these two groups who have been exposed to the kind of urbanism which accompanies the seasonal influx of summer people. The older and the conservative residents may avoid nearly all symptoms of urbanization, if they wish.

The present-day attitude toward city life is about that of a generation ago. Even then young men and women were leaving to seek a livelihood in towns like Lowell, Nashua, or Manchester, or even Boston and New York. The farm people of Landaff think there is more vice, more crime, and less friendliness in the city than in the country, but they also believe there are opportunities not to be found on the farms or in the villages. Of course, attitudes on this subject, as on any other, vary from household to household and even within a family.

Today the young people are almost all impressed by urban life, or at least by town life. Thirty years ago, when the local agricultural situation was more promising, only a relatively small group was "urban-minded." Also as the boys knew nothing of city ways it was not so easy for them to set forth into this strange world as it is for the boy of today. Books, magazines, movies, radios, and summer people, have provided a colorful though not accurate picture of city people and city life.

There is no one characteristic attitude in regard to city-bred people. The few who do occasionally come to the town are judged on their personal merits, yet any city person, no matter how well thought of, will always be considered an outsider. A 5, 10, or even 15 years' residence would not make him a "Landaff man." He would not be barred from the church or Grange, and the people would treat him as a friend, but he would always be thought of as "different."

A majority of the men now farming in the town say they would not give up their present lives even for a fairly well-paid city job. Their present independence is worth more to them than luxuries. However, most of the young men and nearly all the nonfarm people (excepting the old, retired ones) would gladly take any kind of job which would pay enough money to live on.

The farm people of Landaff definitely think of themselves as a distinct group, not to be confused with people of other townships. The sense of place or distinctive locality is of great importance; it characterizes all of the farm people and even the nonfarm group who have lived in Landaff for many years. It is maintained and strengthened by the township governmental system, whereby members of the community assert their membership in it and their right to take part in its affairs. But aside from this political phase, Landaff is a symbol or value as a point of identification.

People of Landaff do not claim that their town is superior to any other. In general, the attitude is simply that "other towns are all right, but we belong in this one." Young farmers move away if a better farm can be bought elsewhere for the same money, or girls who do not go to the city may marry into other towns, but they retain a feeling of allegiance to their home community. There is little sentimentality connected with this feeling, but it is real.

As shown earlier, in this study, most of the inhabitants of Landaff read newspapers fairly regularly, subscribing to both a Boston paper and the local village weekly. Of those who see newspapers only occasionally, the majority see the metropolitan and not the local publications, because they are the nonfarm people who have less interest in local events.

The effect of metropolitan newspapers upon the people of Landaff is stimulation of an interest in national and international events. Among such extreme individualists it is difficult to make more specific statements. The older people often read little besides the headlines; the young people sometimes draw upon the newspapers for accounts – both news and fiction – of life in the city. The young people all like the comic section. There are so few young people that generalization is out of the question, but it seems fair to say that the newspapers, like the radio, represent to young people a connection with the urban world.

The number of periodicals to be found in Landaff homes varies considerably. The majority are trade journals or semi-utilitarion publications of some sort. Dairy magazines are of value to their subscribers. Those who adopt suggestions made in these periodicals become more open-minded toward "book farming" and scientific findings. However, many men who subscribe to technical magazines are sometimes slow to adopt new ideas or to "take any one's word for it." This applies both to Government bulletins, of which few are read, and dairymen's papers.

Leisure-time periodicals and general books are seldom found in the homes of either farm or nonfarm people. Boys and girls occasionally read the popular weeklies. But the people work long hours and publications cost money. A few of the men do read a great deal. One farmer informant, after a long day of work, almost invariably devotes 2 or 3 hours to careful reading of newspapers and quicker reading of stories in the better magazines.

The town, like most others in the area, has a little library whose committee acquires new books occasionally. Every resident is glad that the library exists, though only a comparatively few use it. Reading is primarily dependent upon leisure time, which is scarce in Landaff. Most of the older people have not had as much as a high-school education and few have developed the habit of reading. The radio has largely supplanted reading among the younger people.

The radio, more than any other single thing except the fact of the sale of milk to the Boston market, brings the outside world into the homes of Landaff. Each of the larger farms and many homes of small farmers and nonfarm people have sets, some of them operated by battery. People who are interested in the news get it on their radios, and a few listen to political or educational speeches. But a large majority of the radios are usually tuned to programs for entertainment – serial stories, quizzes, comedians, and plays.

The most important use of the radio apparently is to provide entertainment, especially for the women. For example, one very able and seemingly contented housewife listens to serial stories all day as she works about the house. She says it keeps her from being bored or lonely. Most of the women listen to their favorite programs at mealtime and during the evening.

People remark that the radio may have been partly responsible for the scarcity of visiting between families, but cars, telephones, and movies, must also be taken into account.

It is a striking fact that, even among constant radio listeners, local ways are altered but little. Accent and idiom remain, and only the very young wish to emulate characters in the "soap operas." People listen not to learn but to be entertained. The characters in the melodramas are, generally, a different kind of people, and their talk is amusing but not significant.

As stated previously, the adults of Landaff make little use of the nearby movie house. Most of them see only a half-dozen pictures a year, and many see only one or two although one theater is only 2 miles away, and two more are within 10 miles of Landaff. Most of the people who go least frequently could easily afford to go often, but to them the pleasure to be gained doesn't offset the combination of time, trouble, and expense involved.

Then, too, the radio competes with the motion picture, although apparently nearly everyone really prefers to see a movie. The few historical or documentary films which reach the community are always enjoyed by the older folks.

The effect of movies on the community is probably confined to making more clear and more real the distinction between the young and the older people as to interest and attitude toward the outside world. The interests of adults reflect their conservatism. In contrast, the youth are interested in strange and exciting events belonging to a life that is not their own, whether it be fact or fiction. No one in Landaff, however, is dependent on movies. If all three accessible theaters were to close only the young would complain.

Nearly every family, farm and nonfarm, owns either a car or a truck, or both; and at one time or another blame for indebtedness, shiftlessness, and lack of "community spirit" has been laid to the existence of cars. Farmers admit at once that a car or a truck is essential, but it would be difficult to find one who did not deplore their necessity. Needless to say, this feeling is stronger with regard to cars, since trucks can be put to greater use in farm work.

One of the largest and most progressive farmers says: "I've got a pretty good car, and I've had it for some time. I get a lot of use out of it, because I go to cattle shows a good deal, most of them quite a ways from here. No, I wouldn't want to be without a car; but I can't help thinking that cars have done as much harm as good around here, maybe more. People used to get together a lot; now they climb in their cars and ride around when they ought to be tending to their work. Some fellows feel they just must have a car even though they can't afford it. A man who owes money and is having a hard time of it, will have a good car. You can't blame a man for getting one if he can, when everyone else has one, but the cost of buying and keeping it up is

too much for a poor man. Cars make it easy for people to move around a lot, and for floaters to come and go, so that you have a lot of people in all these towns who don't belong."

Nevertheless this fairly common opinion does nothing to hinder the efficient upkeep of the local roads, which are extensive and reasonably good. In the North Country much more expense and work goes into the roads than in other places, for the winters are hard and the snowfall is deep. Most farmers are competent road workers. Repair and construction work gives employment to most of the men at times throughout the year, which tends to keep up interest in well-kept roads.

In spite of the fact that the life of the town is, and has been for many years, maintained by cash from outside sources – milk markets, sawmills, lumber companies, etc., – people do not think much or often about problems of a general nature. There are exceptions, and certainly every farmer occasionally thinks about labor, foreign trade, and political problems. But only a few men are really interested, and, knowing that there is little they can do, they dismiss such questions as unanswerable or incomprehensible. This is more true of nonfarm people than of farmers. Most farmers have definite attitudes about many economic or political questions, though some are based on misunderstanding; a few are well informed according to any broad standards.

In Landaff, there has never been the widespread public concern with the larger political and economic problems such as one finds in other parts of the country. This insularity is related to the traditional values – independence and individualism. While the North-Country dairymen are all dependent on an outside market, there is little or no general pattern of dairy practice or general consensus as to what might be done as a political pressure group to improve their lot. They are concerned about the price of milk, but so far no adequate means of joint enterprise has been developed. The traditional individualism seems to be too strong.

Some of the typical attitudes apparent in Landaff, are next considered. The opinions of three farmers are given about labor – the first is a young, and progressive person; the second is beyond middle age with considerable knowledge and judgment; and the third is of about the same age as the last, but of narrower interest.

The first remarked: "I don't know much about the labor unions, I have to admit, of course I've heard of the CIO and all that. It doesn't seem to me they have to have those unions. They just stir up trouble. They put prices up and farmers who have to depend on truck drivers or other people in unions have to pay the difference. We pay what we have to pay, but those organizations in the cities want too much, and they have the power to get it. I've heard that industrial workers have to have money so they can buy what we sell, but that's foolish; they'd buy it anyway, and if they get more, it goes for radios or cars or something. We'd be better off if we didn't have to have anything to do with them. We can manage our own labor here, could do with more, even, and those unions shouldn't be any concern of ours."

The second said: "Of course, I've read in the papers about Lewis and Green, but I don't know much about them. I don't like the unions, because they make things hard for other people to get more for themselves. Naturally, I think workers ought to have some sort of protection, and I suppose if too many men leave farms and go to the cities the people on the farms have to help pay for taking care of them, but they expect

too much. Most of the people who leave here get themselves jobs, and I don't think any of them go into the unions if they can help it. So this part of the country causes hardly any expense to the cities, and it isn't right that we should have to pay for bad conditions elsewhere. We can take care of our own labor problems right here, though the price is awful high for us to pay."

The third put his views in these words: "I don't have any use for unions. Nobody does around here. And I don't see that it's any of our business what troubles they have in other places, just as long as we aren't to blame, which we're not. We sell milk; folks need it and buy it. We sell it for just enough so we can go on living, and then those darn unions come and try to charge us too much, to get it handled. It's too bad we have to have any dealings with them, because right around here there's no labor problem. A good man can get a job. Folks around here can take care of their own troubles without asking for help, but the Government makes laws for other places that hurt us, and we have to pay taxes to support people in other places that don't do anything for us."

It would be futile to present individual opinions on the subject of foreign trade, since few have any thought-out opinion on the matter. To people who sell milk, and who raise a great deal of their own food, it is not of primary importance. Some men think that the Government should import anything that may be sold at home for less than present prices, and others believe that careful thought should be given to the importing of items which might benefit a majority of the people.

There are rather mixed and confused opinions about free trade. These people seem to favor it in some instances but not in others. They accept the usual arguments for tariffs to protect industrial workers since they feel that reasonable wages in industry enable workers to buy more farm products. Many think that there is small danger of any loss in the milk market by reason of foreign imports; others fear low tariffs on dairy products.

Men who have never thought the situation through sometimes say that restricted trade helps the big industrialist and hardly anyone else, since all city workers and many of the farmers would gain more than they would lose by being enabled to buy goods for less money; but they, like their better informed neighbors, fear that the industrial workers would always favor low tariffs whether or not they hurt the farmer.

If any one attitude is more common than all others on this problem, it is this: "Farmers have to be protected by tariffs, but they ought to be worked out so that people can buy what they have to buy for as little as possible. It looks as if the rich manufacturers are more protected than the rest, as things are now. And, of course, a lot of tariffs that help other farmers just make prices high for us here, so that we get the worst of it - but that probably can't be helped."

There are, of course, individuals to whom the words "foreign trade" mean almost nothing, who say "all that hasn't much to do with us." The average man, looks to the Government for tariff protection (though for him the only possible protection would be a tariff on Scandinavian dairy products) but he doesn't want to see any increase in the cost of living. Opinions about exporting are few and of no significance. It is assumed that the nation needs foreign markets, but the sale of products to other countries has no apparent effect on this locality.

On the subject of the Government's role in agriculture there is an unusual unanimity of opinion. A large majority of the farmers believe that any further control of agriculture "from Washington" is to be discouraged. Some are bitter, some are reasonable, a few are slightly regretful; but all think that the Government should "keep its hands off the farmer's business."

Few governmental programs are operative in this township, yet the very existence of WPA, Surplus Marketing Administration, and the various Federal loan agencies is considered to have been detrimental to the community. The effects have been neither marked nor severe, but they are apparent. Much more important is the problem of what the programs may do in the future to the North-Country way of life, and what the Government *may* do. Many feel that these programs threaten basic values - independence and self-determination - which alone compensate for a difficult and rather unremunerative life.

There was a surprising lack of strong interest in the present World War or in problems of national defense (that is, in the spring of 1940). Yet most men in the community believed that we would enter the war in time, and were strongly pro-British and anti-Nazi. Obviously, there were differences of opinion; some felt that we should and could avoid war, others that war was unavoidable. Most said that Germany was responsible for the whole situation and should be crushed once and for all.

It would be a serious mistake to assume that these people did not consider the war important. To the youth it then seemed unreal, and many had not had occasion to develop a sense of responsibility. The common attitude was that, after all, work must go on as usual - the cows must be fed, and milked, the land must be cultivated, the family must live; that, regardless of how a man felt, there was nothing he could do about it then. No one in Landaff denied our need for national defense. Some feared the nation would be impoverished, but even these persons did not believe that the defense expense would be a needless one.

The make-up of the two political parties in the town and their relationship to each other are significant. The majority of the progressive farmers, and, apparently, of the "floaters" were of the party then in power. The conservative, elderly people operating small farms in the manner of two or three decades ago are apt to be of the other party. More important, however, is the fact that in the primaries, which took place after the town meeting, not more than half of the people voted. This half was composed mostly of farm people, for the floaters followed their usual practice of disregarding everything connected with town, State, or Nation which does not affect them personally and immediately. A greater proportion of the opposition party voted.

Neither party, in this town, at least, is organized along any specific pattern. Each man makes his own decision and is not criticized by his neighbors should his political views differ from theirs. Not one single political argument was heard by the investigator during the course of this study in Landaff not even in Grange discussions. Yet in the State and National elections of November 1940 there was evidently considerable discussion and an alleged effort to manipulate the vote.

Since Washington has never had any marked effect upon the hill country, and since they believe there are no specific evils or problems that any administration can correct, people in Landaff feel that there will be little change in their lives as the

result of any given election. So they do not band together to strengthen their individual convictions; they are usually tolerant. In a general way, liberals or progressives tend to vote one way and the conservatives vote the other. All agree that the Government should never become too powerful and should "mind its own business," regardless of what party is in power.

Against Communism, and Fascism and associated movements, people in this community present a firm front. They believe they are more appreciative of basic American values of individual freedom and freedom of speech than are many people elsewhere. "Extreme" groups are even more heartily disliked, on the grounds that they are immature and radical if not treacherous and dangerous.

The way of life of the North Country is basically similar to that which prevailed in old New England. People want the same things and will work hard and endure much to get them. The leading people in Landaff are Yankees, unmixed with any foreign element, and they are inordinately proud of it. Being comparatively isolated and respectful of tradition, they are, as a group, conservative in respect to agricultural techniques; but this very conservatism has kept alive the deep conviction that the values of their ancestors are wholly necessary to a life that is worth living. Each man must be free to act according to his own lights, even though it may ruin him to do so. From their point of view even this implied sacrifice is not too great.

§

INTEGRATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN COMMUNITY AND INDIVIDUAL LIFE

This final chapter discusses the implications of this study with reference to the problems of integration and disintegration, and with regard to stability as against instability. The basic facts need not be summarized. Only the premises, reasonable inferences, and conclusions which the facts support, are presented.

The basic cultural values of this community – like those of other townships of similar history in the North Country – revolve around strong individualism and self-reliance with all that these imply as to negative reactions to strong public controls, interference with personal choices and liberties, and any serious blocking of self-determination of one's life. Associated with these are the virtues of thrift, hard work, and steadiness. Also there is a readiness to blame one's self for failure and to attribute one's success to the operation of these positive values.

We have seen that an earlier accommodation to the resources, marked by relative permanence of settlement, adequate institutions of community order, and local self-sufficiency, were disturbed by population pressure. Efforts to meet the crisis were made through the adoption of a certain degree of commercialization. These attempts were not entirely successful, so today there is considerable disintegration and instability as evidenced by a high out-migration, especially of young people, by persistent economic limitations, the decline of school, church, and Grange as supporting community institutions, and by a gradual loss of the essential underlying assurances as to the future.

If even tentative generalizations are to follow from this particular investigation, some understanding must be gained as to how much the situation in Landaff typifies that of the larger region of which it is a part. In order to put this particular community into the larger regional framework, some of the pertinent aspects of the history of the county, State, and region, must be noted.

First, it is well to bear in mind that northwestern New Hampshire, along with northern Vermont and the upper part of Maine, are different from the rest of New England, climatologically, physiographically, historically, and culturally.[23] Certainly the inhabitants of the northern part of New Hampshire consider themselves different from those of the southern part, as to descent and cultural history, and with some justification.

The North Country was an unsettled wilderness in 1750, when central and southern New England had been settled for 100 years. The people who went into the North after

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[23]Russell Smith, in his *North America*, discusses the "Northeastern Highlands" as distinct from the "Northeast Canadian Maritime Region," though he does include southern Vermont and a bit of southern New Hampshire in the former. Following the local habit, the northern sections of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Maine, are here called the North Country.

the French and Indian Wars were Yankees of English descent, with a small mixture of Scotch-Irish and recent English immigrants. In general attitude, personal background, and character structure, the people were rather distinct from those who conformed to the central New England norm. For instance, only people of courage and self-confidence would choose to go into heavily forested land to create their own farms. There were no men of wealth and, at first, but few craftsmen. Businessmen and professional men had no incentive for going. Moreover, this entire area, was for many decades little disturbed by outside influences. As late as 1850, 95 percent of the population of New Hampshire was native-born.

These hardy pioneers into the Cohos country must have had courage, ambition, and will-power to leave stable communities and venture into this remote land. Apparently most of them were Yankee farmers motivated by economic pressure and hopes for the future. They came from Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and southern New Hampshire. This migration began about 1760 and continued until 1830 when the expanding periphery became more or less fixed. By 1860, in turn, population decline had begun in the southern townships of the North Country. A like decrease in population was to be evident in Landaff within the next generation.

These hill townships were rather cut off from the rest of the world. The cultural patterns were not unlike those of southern New England, except as modifications in housing, farming, or other features had to be made to meet the circumstances. New folkways grew up in the North and, equally important, significant cultural changes which took place in the other New England States were not echoed in the hill country. The older parts of New England grew and changed; they received thousands upon thousands of new immigrants from Canada and many parts of Europe. In contrast the towns in the North Country changed a little to fit the new physical environment but otherwise held to their slightly modified culture for generations. Novel cultural patterns never reached them in the early decades of their history, and when the railroad and easier communication came, their conservatism was already well established.

Here is an example of divergent evolution in which one branch isolates itself and for a long time is little affected by forces from outside whereas the parent culture is fully exposed to such forces and by responding to them, develops quickly, and adjusts itself to the new forms. Later, divergence ceases and convergence begins as the major branch – in this case, the expanding commercial and industrial New England – reaches out to "modernize" the North. The latter remains essentially conservative and individualistic, but is slowly accepting some of the new characteristics of down-country New Englanders. This acceptance, slight and gradual among the older people, is rapidly accelerating among the young people and if their conservatism should be broken down, the convergence would be complete. Then this last stronghold of only slightly altered early New England Yankee culture will be swallowed up by its now hybrid, metamorphosed parent.

But we must not assume too much commonalty among the townships of this area. Isolation, individualism, and the spirit of independence made for considerable variability. Unfortunately we have no adequate early history of Grafton County nor of the particular community of Landaff to enable us to trace the details of the local course of events. The county itself had little or no meaning as a separate cultural unit, aside from its slight political significance. Today the infiltration of new people, the different rate of industrialization and the diffusion of commercialized farming, have produced an even more striking deviation in this part of New England.

The study of Landaff was begun with the presumption that it was a community which had once been rather stable and well integrated and no evidence has come to light which invalidates this conclusion. Yet there is no way of knowing just how stable and well integrated this or any other hill town may have been during earlier periods. Nearly all the towns grew in population, but records of marriages and biographies of individuals show that from the earliest years until the present there was a considerable mobility of families and individuals though within the limited range of one town to the next. It was not unusual for any man or woman to have relatives and "in-laws" in several adjoining townships, which made a shift of residence easy.

Nevertheless, in the better townships, where land was as good as any in the area and where streams made possible the erection of mills, a nucleus of the more solid and responsible people settled permanently and, to all appearances, built a society which was stable and lasting. At the outset, apparently, the communities were wholly democratic – unlike those of old New England – because here there were no older upper-class residents to subordinate the newcomers and control local politics, and no church to make political franchise hinge upon church affiliation. The original proprietors of the North Country towns rarely lived on their grants, but disposed of them to others. The people who finally came to own and settle on the land were, more or less, run-of-the-mill farmers without any sharp lines of economic, educational, or other distinctions.

As to the extent of integration, there are few data to draw upon. In every account communities of the times are described as friendly and neighborly, and expressions of integration, such as joint endeavors, are mentioned. But it is not possible to discover just what these activities meant to the individual or to what extent he was and wished to be independent of such cooperation. Certainly the towns were well-knit, properly functioning units, yet their cohesive qualities were largely on a personal face-to-face basis.

Unlike many primitive communities and unlike many organized pioneering settlements (such as are found among the Pennsylvania Germans, the Mormons, the Mennonites, and others) there were few fixed or institutionalized controls. The integrating principle, for the individual, was his self-reliance, independence, and adherence to certain broad Yankee standards of ambition, honesty, thrift, and hard work. Beyond such general characteristics, individuals could and probably did differ rather markedly, but because they shared these characteristics, it was not difficult for them to associate together. Nevertheless, as they had no previous relationships with each other, and as the actual groups were new and had no history behind them as groups, they held together only because each individual was personally satisfied that the ways of the others were his ways, more or less, and that what they wanted would not conflict with what he wanted. There was nothing to prevent his removal to another community should he become dissatisfied. In fact, men did move away from their first homes to try to discover a locality more suitable to them.

Now, 150 years later, new factors have altered and are continuing to alter the culture of the hill townships. Complete self-sufficiency has long been abandoned and the general farming has been influenced by sheep-raising, by attempts at local industries, by lumbering, and by commercialized dairying. New population elements have come in – some into the farming but most of them into local industries.

For many years, the cities and towns of the outside world and the better farm lands of other regions have attracted the young people upon whom the way of life in the North Country depended for its perpetuation. The communities are not stable; any in which no mill or factory has been set up have dwindled greatly during the past half-century. They are not well integrated because only the nucleus of old Yankee farm families is concerned with the maintenance of formal and informal social relationship, and even they have usually come to accept a telephone conversation as a fair substitute for a visit, and a drive in the hills as more enjoyable than a church service. Previous solidarity has been dissipated and the farming communities in particular have lost their former zest.

It is important that although self-sufficiency early began to give way, in part, to commercialization, it was never completely submerged or replaced. It is doubtful whether that could happen. The land and resources are not adapted to full commercialization. While the pressure of population on the local resources has induced much of the out-migration, old loyalties to the community and to farming as a way of life have prevented complete disintegration. To understand the present situation such cultural values must be borne in mind. Mere economic well-being or the absence of it will not account for the continuation of such communities as Landaff, nor for their partial decline.

In the first place, farm people of the North Country are almost without exception skilled in several different kinds of work, and still have considerable personal ingenuity, which makes them quick to learn. Bidwell[24] suggests the lack of any market as being one of the basic causes of this fact, for without a market the farmer was obviously unable to specialize, to farm efficiently, and to "hire things done" with the proceeds of his sales. It was necessary for him to meet his family's every need himself. By the time the northern towns were settled, specialization was possible in southern New England, but those who went north abandoned this possibility for the sake of free land, freedom from Puritanical intolerance, and escape from the miserable conditions that prevailed after the Revolutionary War.

These capabilities for rapid adaptation had a two-fold effect. When specialization and commercialization reached the North Country, the abler and more ambitious could take up the new ways of earning a living. But many with these abilities, perceiving the local limitations, set off for new parts of the United States where the chances for getting ahead were much better. In Landaff, the parents of young people who have left the community are certain that their children are completely capable of adjusting themselves to life in urban or in other rural communities. Pride in ingenuity, self-reliance, and independence remains, even though their children have to go elsewhere to give it expression.

It is, therefore, an expression of the success and proof of this culture that its component individuals are able to adapt, to compete, and to succeed under the impact of new cultural forces. The Mexican, the Amishman, or the Hopi Indian, who leaves his people must, if he wishes to succeed, forsake much of his native culture and adopt that of the people among whom he comes. But the northern Yankee, *by adhering strongly to the basic tenets of his own society* can, and has always been able to, re-establish himself away from home. Perhaps the most typical Yankee is one who left the

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[24] Bidwell, op.cit.

farm as a young person; for apparently the culture of the North Country is better able to equip its men and women for other ways of life than to perpetuate itself in the locality. Obviously any failure at home is a matter chiefly of economic resources.

It must not be assumed, however, that the people found today on the hill farms are inferior to their brothers, sisters, and cousins who have moved away. Some are there because their farms were left specifically to them, and they do not feel free to sell. It is easier to leave a home that is safe in the hands of a family member than to sell it to a stranger. Others stay on because their older brothers and sisters had gone away, leaving them to help their aging parents; loyalty does not permit them to go. Others refuse to admit that farming in the hills will never pay, and they buy new machinery and read technical bulletins in order to do what their neighbors have failed to do. A few stay because their affection for their home and land is greater than their wish for a higher income. Of the younger people, affected since early childhood by an outside world brought near by radio, newspaper, train, car, and telephone, few will remain. They can now earn money to send home and their knowledge of life in other places creates a longing too strong to be counterbalanced by the real affection that each feels for his native town.

It is well to indicate again that these traditional values or virtues are the very ones which are commonly associated with commercial enterprises. So one wonders why so few farmers here have adopted the more modern practices. The inertia with reference to dairy-herd improvement is marked, and the investigator believes that this itself is symbolic of a certain resistance to change which accompanies individualism.

Most of the hill towns are dwindling, and their inhabitants include many old people. The nonfarm people are younger; – they may be people who are too poor to go away, or who lack the qualities which make success possible for the children of farm families; many are floaters – New Englanders, perhaps, but not participants in the community in which they chance to live. Although these communities are not so well integrated as they once were, certain standards persist; certain common enterprises still go on. People respect one another's rights; they mind their own business as much as can be expected; they bring up their children to take care of themselves.

The hill towns send out their young people with standards as old as New England and as practicable in the Boston shop as on the hill farm. Their culture seems to contain within itself the cause of its own eventual dispersion; for it lives in its people and they, its products, scatter over the country. The material resources have put a limit on local growth and led to certain instabilities, but the basic virtues associated with individualism remain to find adult outlets elsewhere. In time, there may be no "stronghold of Yankee culture," but neither will there be a group of maladjusted, aimless people as a result. The Yankees will be Kansas farmers, Boston businessmen, Detroit mechanics, doctors in California, or ranchers in Montana.

Only from the romantic viewpoint can the disintegration of the hill towns be thought to be tragic. The old farm houses will be abandoned or restored by summer visitors, and the old English names will be replaced by new ones, some of them strange to the country; but the people will not have disappeared. They will only have gone to other places or among other people where they can best make use of their Yankee heritage.

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